

Re-thinking education in South Africa: case studies of community participation in education in the Durban Functional Region

Rosemary Mputsanyane Matsepe
B.A.Hons, UED (UNIN)

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban.

Durban 1993

PREFACE

The research work described in this study was carried out in the Department of Geographical Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, from March 1990 to February 1993 under the supervision of Dianne Scott, Dr Felicity Kitchin and Dr M. M. Khosa. The thesis focusses on a period more or less before February 1990.

This study represents the original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form to another university. Where use was made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged in the text.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Had it not been for my supervisors, Di Scott, Dr Felicity Kitchin and Dr Meshack Khosa, whose encouragement and patience were like water and sunshine to a budding flower, this work would not have come into fruition. Their guidance, constructive criticism, understanding and support throughout this thesis (often under extremely trying circumstances) is greatly appreciated.

There are a number of people who have in one way or another contributed to this piece of work. Sipho Talane, Ruth Searle, Prof Mark Orkin and the "Mighty Team" at C.A.S.E, Dr Paulus Zulu, Dr Blade Nzimande, my Italian "parents" in Pinetown, Aldo Chiste, Gerhard Brunner, Mrs Mngadi, Mike Saneka and all the people I interviewed; a special thanks to you all.

I also wish to express my thanks to members of staff and students in the department, without forgetting Philisiwe who became my "mother" in Durban. To my friends Mpho, Lebogang, Mmika and Itumeleng.

Sandy Thomson's professional and patient assistance with the typing was invaluable. Appreciation on this score goes beyond the technical; it extends to her capacity to reduce my frustration at critical moments when the intricacies of word processors threatened my ability to get down with the job.

Mrs Brunhilde in Austria, the Italian Embassy and DAAD for their financial support.

This work is dedicated to my mother and daughter, Khonjiwe and Modibo-Mmatsie whose patience, encouragement and unfailing support helped in the completion of this work. Lastly to my husband, Samuel Morutse Mogadime, who could not see the end of the work because of his death in 1991.

ABSTRACT

The inadequacies of Black education have been approached from various angles including government intervention in the form of legislation, socio-economic measures, and others. People have also discovered this inadequacies and are struggling to resolve them in the form of 'alternative schools' or 'people's education' campaigns.

The focus of this thesis is on community participation in the provision of education looking at two case studies in the Durban Functional Region. The theoretical framework for the study was threefold: derived from the development literature incorporating community participation; followed by a review of the literature on space; and a discussion on education - people's education. Data was gathered from intensive interviews, group discussions, newspaper articles, school reports and other documents. This assisted in giving an insight into the particular forms that community participation took in the two case studies.

The following processes were identified from the study: processes of conflict and opposition and processes of co-operation in sharing a common task. These were analysed based on parameters such as: goals, concerns, students, community involvement, accountability, finance, sustainability and empowerment. The salient yet powerful features of the study were that of 'space' and 'locality' which presented a powerful force explaining the specificity of the processes in each of the case studies.

The case studies succeeded in critically illuminating the precise meaning and evolution of community participation, its theoretical consistency, spatial sensitivity and also assessed its practicality. Furthermore, the study emphasised that local and domestic strategies in the provision of education need to be re-enforced through positive national or state interventions. Finally, as demonstrated in the two case studies, context-specificity should be the guiding principle in any community participation efforts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.2	SITUATING THE STUDY AREA IN THE BROADER KWAZULU/NATAL CONTEXT	4
1.3	STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	6

CHAPTER 2 TOWARDS A THEORY OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

2.1	INTRODUCTION	11
2.2	LITERATURE ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION	12
2.3	MODERNIZATION THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT	14
2.4	THE DEPENDENCY PARADIGM	16
2.5	COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT/COMMUNITY PARTICI- PATION APPROACHES	20
2.6	TOWARDS A BOTTOM-UP APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT	25
2.7	PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION	30
2.8	THE ROLE OF SPACE AND LOCALITY IN COMMUNITY PARTI- CIPATION	32
2.9	CONCLUSION	35

CHAPTER 3 EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: SOUTH AFRICA

3.1	INTRODUCTION	37
3.2	WHAT IS EDUCATION?	38
3.2.1	Components of education	40

3.3	THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY INITIATIVES IN BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	43
3.3.1	Education in South Africa: Recent Developments	44
3.3.2	The structure of education in South Africa	48
3.4	PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER	51
3.5	CONCLUSION	54

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN PRACTICE: PHAMBILI AND THEMBALIHLE GOODHOPE

4.1	INTRODUCTION	56
4.2	THE GEO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF PHAMBILI	58
4.2.1	School's Registration	66
4.2.2	Imbalances between the Number of Teachers and Pupils	68
4.2.3	A Shortage of Textbooks and Stationery	69
4.2.4	The Teaching-Learning Environment	70
4.2.5	Conditions of Employment	71
4.2.6	Problems with Headship	71
4.2.7	Increasing Pupil's Power	72
4.2.8	Criticism of Phambili by Prof Fatima Meer	74
4.3	THE SITUATION AT PHAMBILI IN 1991	74
4.4	THE GEO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THEMBALIHLE-GOODHOPE SCHOOL	77
4.4.1	The School	80
4.5	PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED AT THEMBALIHLE SCHOOL	85
4.5.1	Lack of Recognition by DET	85
4.5.2	The Socio-Economic Environment Prevalent in Bambayi	86
4.5.3	Lack of Qualified Teachers	86
4.5.4	The Unfavourable Physical Conditions In and Around the School	86

4.5.5	Difficulties in Registration Eventually Led to the School's Closure	87
4.6	COMPARISON OF PHAMBILI AND THEMBALIHLE AS CASE STUDIES OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION	89
4.7	CONCLUSION	95

CHAPTER 5

AN EVALUATION OF THE TWO CASE STUDIES TOWARDS A MODEL FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

5.1	INTRODUCTION	97
5.1.1	The Socio-Economic and Political Characteristics of the People/Community	100
5.1.2	Sustainability: The Role of Finance/Foreign Aid in Development	101
5.1.3	Decentralization: The Role of the Government/State in Community Participation	105
5.1.4	Bottom-up Initiative: Participation is Rooted in People's evolving Experiences	106
5.1.5	Evaluation of Projects: A Characteristic of Process Orientated Democratic Approach	107
5.1.6	Geographical Context: Specificity of Place	108
5.2	GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS	110
5.2.1	Time: An Important Factor in Community Participation	110
5.2.2	Acknowledgement of Existing Structures/Initiatives	110
5.2.3	The Need for Planning and Preparation	111
5.2.4	Training and Education as Essentials in Participation	112
5.2.5	Non-formal and Formal Education to Complement Each Other	112
5.2.6	The Community's Active Participation as a Process	113

5.3	CONCLUDING REMARKS	114
-----	--------------------	-----

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

REFERENCES

122

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	THE DURBAN FUNCTIONAL REGION WITHIN THE BROADER KWAZULU/NATAL REGION (Source : Durban City Engineers, 1990)	5
Figure 1.2	THE LOCATION OF PHAMBILI (Source : Durban City Engineers, 1990)	8
Figure 1.3	THE LOCATION OF THEMBALIHLE-GOOD HOPE (Source : Durban City Engineers, 1990)	9
Figure 4.1	THE GOVERNING STRUCTURE OF PHAMBILI - 1987 (Source : Phambili Report 1987/1988)	63
Figure 4.2	PHAMBILI SCHOOL GOVERNING STRUCTURE (Source : Phambili Report 1987/1988)	67
Figure 4.3	PHAMBILI ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE (Source: Phambili Report 1987/1988 p113)	73
Figure 4.4	PHAMBILI SCHOOL STRUCTURE AS AT 6 MAY 1991 (Source : Phambili Report, January/March 1991)	76(a)
Figure 4.5	PARENT'S ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE SCHOOL FUND AT THEMBALIHLE (1986-1990) (Source : Informant 3, 23 April 1990)	83

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The present crisis in Black education has its roots in 1953 when the Bantu Education Act was enacted in parliament¹. The shortage of schools, classrooms, textbooks, equipment and teaching resources, the low standard of education provided, the poverty of the pupils and parents, the low teacher qualification and transport problems are exacerbated by the criticisms that are levelled against Black education are summarised rightly by the Moulder (1991) as that of legitimacy, provision, quality and relevance. In addition, the education crisis manifests itself differently at the primary and secondary school levels, varies over urban and rural areas and between different education departments.

The crisis culminated in the historic National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) conference in 1985, at the University of Witwatersrand, where a number of resolutions on the role of parents (community), teachers and students in resolving the education deadlock were adopted. A nationwide need for people's education for people's power as a strategy to the education problems was registered. In some places, various communities embarked on different strategies such as initiating or supporting the mushrooming of "fly by night" schools, street colleges or academies, downtown Saturday tutorials, vacation schools and private tutoring. Despite all these, the chaotic nature of the Black education system remains as a battlefield and a contested terrain between various takeholders and the state.

¹ *Where necessary the terms African/Black, Coloured, Indian and White are used to distinguish the different categories enforced by the South African state. This does not indicate any acceptance of such categories. In this study the terms African/Black are used interchangeably to refer to the same group of people.*

For the purpose of this study, community participation in the crisis of education provision in the two case studies, Phambili and Thembalihle-Good Hope schools within the Durban Functional Regional (DFR) is evaluated. The two schools are examples of attempts made by local communities to solve education problems derived within their specific contexts. Thereafter, community participation as an alternative strategy to accomplish a re-orientation in the provision of education is assessed. This chapter is divided into three sections. First, the objectives of the study are outlined. Secondly, a brief review of the study area, that is locating the DFR in the broader KwaZulu Natal region is discussed.

Thirdly, an overview of the thesis is provided in the chapter outline. Since development and politics are essentially interactive, a study of this nature is important during South Africa's first steps to dismantle apartheid's unacceptable legacy of racial claims to education, wealth, land and power. The challenge confronting the people is to find ways to minimise a deepening educational crisis revealed not only in life-threatening stresses, but also in a growing gap between the teachers and parents; parents and pupils; pupils and teachers; teachers and the state; pupils and the state; and so on. The uncertainties created by the transitional nature of the present phase in South Africa and the disintegrating social fabric may be regarded as added potential obstacles for development. People's education for people's power is an attempt to revitalise the community's interest and active participation in education, as a solution to the crisis. This study may make a contribution in education restructuring alongside other in-depth researches such as those of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) and many others.

It is the contention of this thesis that during this period of transition and transformation, community participation in education has the capacity, both at an ideological and practical level, to contribute towards the drawing of a future educational policy free of racism and exploitation, and the development of sensitivity to the needs of communities.

The central idea implied here, is thus to promote the evolution of a community as an integrated whole (Thompson, 1981).

The schools were chosen to contrast one another in terms of their spatial location, socio-political context and are reviewed within the current educational and developmental debates. Both schools offer examples of community initiatives in widening access to education at varying localities. For instance Phambili school is centrally located in Durban, Thembalihle school was located on a privately owned trust land presently occupied and surrounded by squatters². The two case studies are investigated within the time from 1984 to 1990, and in the Phambili study, up to early 1991.

An important theme of this study is to show that "space speaks" (Ardener, 1991 p12), and that space does not merely reflect social organisations, but that once space has been bound and strapped, it is no longer merely a neutral background; it exerts its own influence.

Space defines the people in it. At the same time people define space. Thus behaviour and space are mutually dependent. The research questions asked will not be only concerned with how community participation occurs, but also to whom, why and where. The concern is on how community participation gains its particular character based on the specificity of locality.

2 *In the case of Thembalihle the past tense is used as the school no longer exists.*

1.2 SITUATING THE STUDY AREA IN THE BROADER KWAZULU/NATAL CONTEXT

The DFR is one of the largest urban concentration found in the KwaZulu/Natal region (Bekker, 1992). Phambili and Thembalihle are located within the DFR (Figure 1.1). Urban growth in the region is driven by the process of urbanisation. The close proximity of KwaZulu to the major white urban areas and to industrial activity (Beall *et al*, 1986) has in turn promoted the growth of large informal settlements around the urban areas.

The division of authority between the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the Natal Provincial Administration has brought the fragmentation and duplication of public service delivery in KwaZulu and Natal. The costs and obstacles brought about by this state of affairs will be shown in this study. Low levels of tolerance regarding competition over political patronage between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF)³ or African National Congress (ANC), as well as over scarce resources, persist in the DFR. They find expression in the sporadic incidents of violence, resulting in a number of features of local unrest which are distinctive to the DFR, and Natal as a whole (Byerley, 1989).

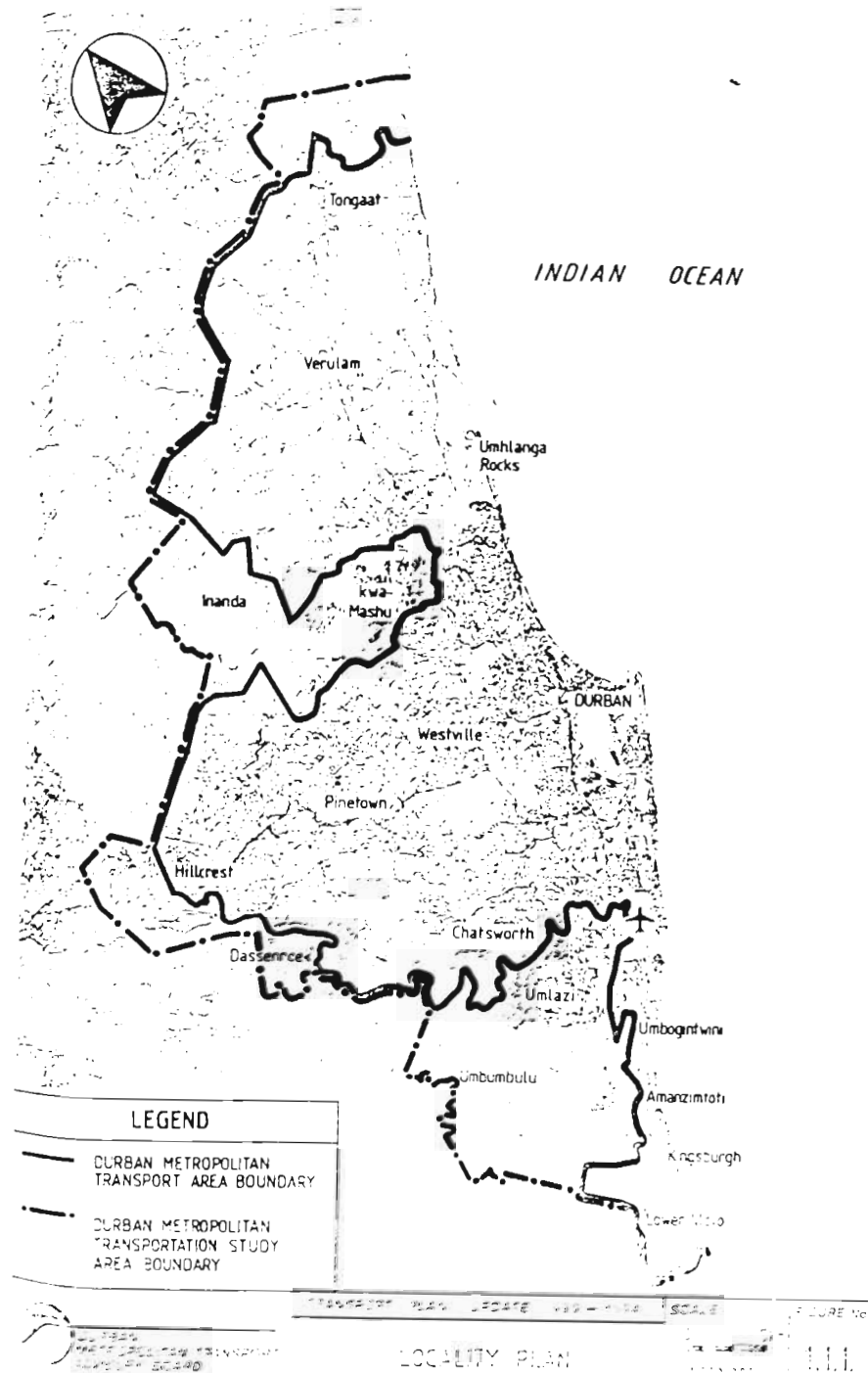
Although a measure of protection against insecurity and conflict which is pervasive in the DFR may be the greatest of the communities' urgent needs, Blacks in this area also aspire for other services which would render a positive future for their children. The provision of basic services emerges consistently as top priority and is also a progressive process, shifting from one particular service to another once delivery of the first is provided.

3 *The UDF was disbanded in 1990.*

FIGURE 1.1

THE DURBAN FUNCTIONAL REGION WITHIN THE BROADER KWAZULU/NATAL REGION

(SOURCE : DURBAN CITY ENGINEERS, 1990)



Development needs are felt needs, related closely to experiences of deprivation and of poverty as to objectives indices of scarcity and deficiency (Bekker, 1992).

The needs of the different communities in the DFR are further defined both by their environment as well as by their experience of that environment. Accordingly, it is the contention of community participation that planning and development should be carefully located within the progressive fulfillment of basic needs as articulated and executed by community members. It follows that community participation to address felt needs is cardinal for success in the development progress. In this way the crisis of education provision will be ameliorated.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on community participation and provides a theoretical overview of modernisation and dependency growth strategies to indicate the theoretical background in which community participation is located. Problems associated with community participation and literature on the geographical importance of locality and space, are also a subject of chapter 2. The crucial role of space is reviewed because of the local nature of community participation.

Chapter 3 examines the definitions of education and the role of the school in society. Furthermore, the chapter gives a synoptic overview of the South African education system, by identifying the disparities that are based on racial segregation. The general context in which the Black education crisis in South Africa occurs is also included. The underlying origins of the proposed community initiative of people's education for people's power as a form of community participation is examined. With this background, it would be possible to understand the context within which the two case studies were established.

Chapter 4 is based on the two case studies, Phambili and Thembalihle-Good Hope schools (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). This includes the specific geo-historical contexts of the two schools and the form and extent of community participation experienced. The extent to which geo-historical background influence the form of community participation in education is examined, and the long term viability of this process assessed. In order to offer an in-depth account of the case studies, personal interviews, group discussions, newspaper articles and other documents to gather information on the specific incidents of community participation are used.

Chapter 5 evaluates the possibility of developing community participation as a solution to the crisis of education provision in South Africa. This is informed by discussions in chapters 2 and 3 which guide the evaluation of community participation in education with the two case studies emerging with specific events experienced. This includes general recommendations and community participation parameters which may be followed and adjusted based on specific localities.

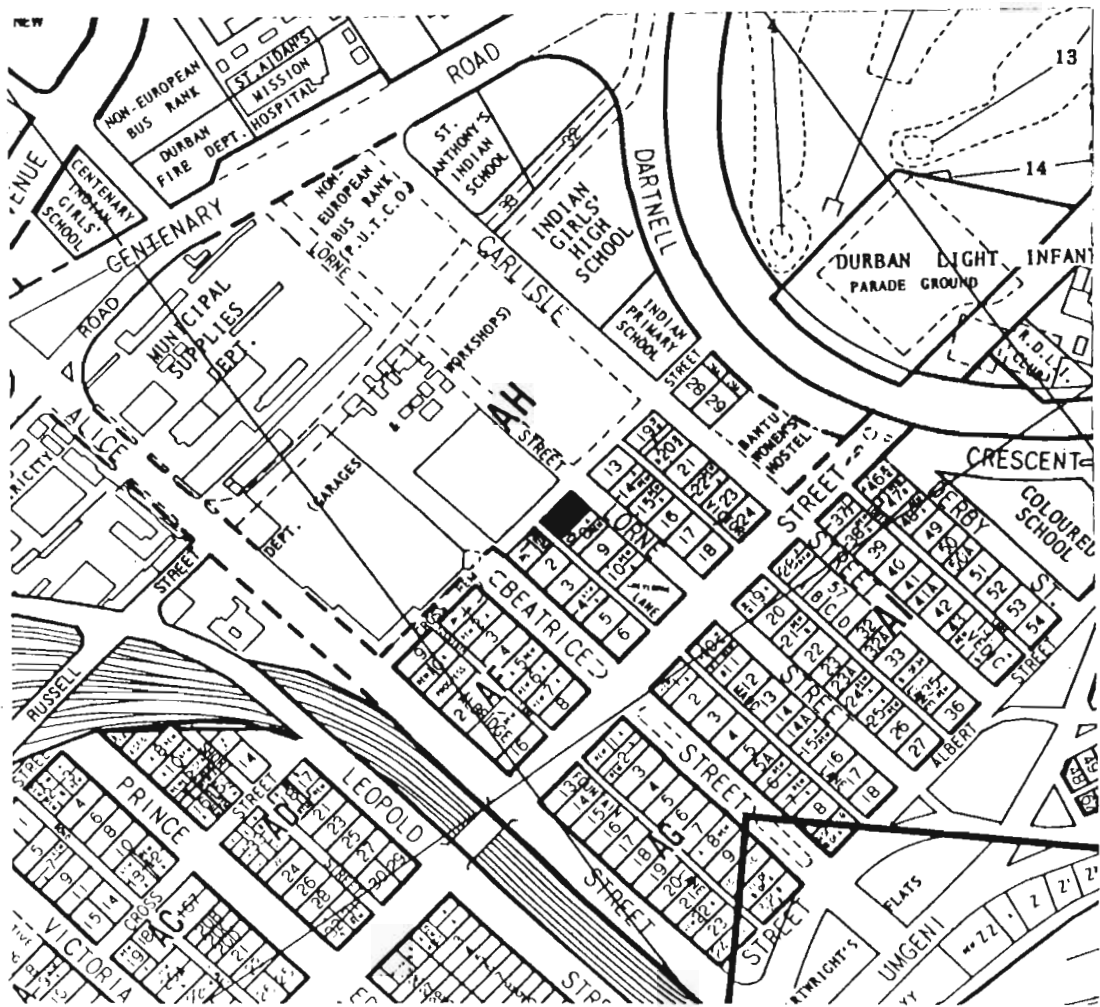
Chapter 6 concludes with a review of the important empirical and theoretical findings of the thesis.

In addition suggestions are made on the important contribution that research on community participation would make towards solving the education crisis in South Africa. What emerges from this study is that the place in which community participation takes place, the history of the location or people and the given socio-political and economics systems which operate in it have a powerful and subtle effect on participation patterns. The two case studies support the notion that neither one end of the spectrum, complete autonomy from state and total self-reliance, nor the other end, that of state authority and complete control of participatory initiatives, are helpful positions.

FIGURE 1.2

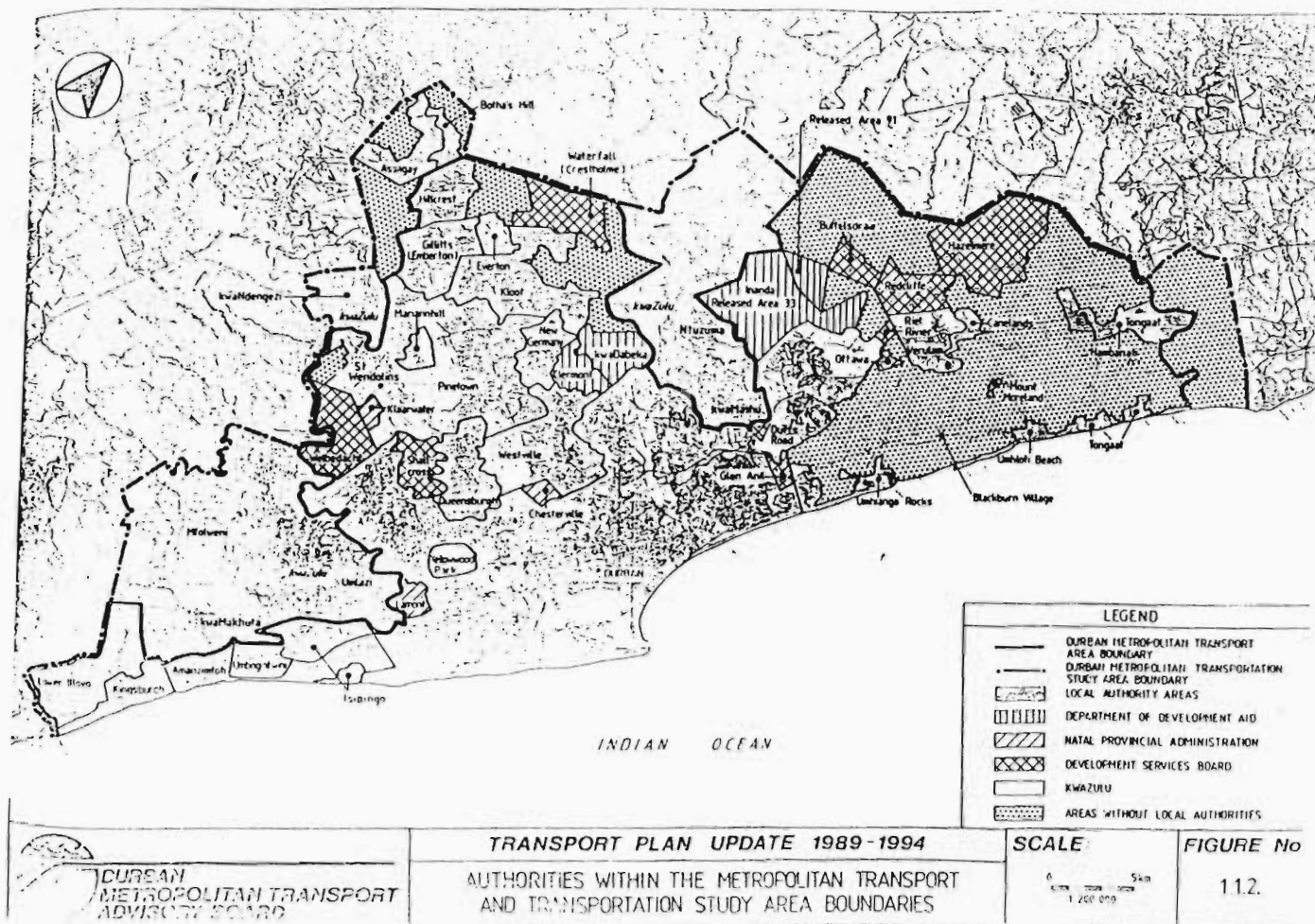
THE LOCATION OF PHAMBILI

(SOURCE : DURBAN CITY ENGINEERS, 1990)



THE LOCATION OF THEMBALIHLE-GOOD HOPE

(SOURCE : DURBAN CITY ENGINEERS, 1990)



What is important, however, is that state involvement has to reflect the complex realities of local situations alongside the genuine possibilities for local people to control their own destinies. Such a factor ties well with the central theme of the thesis that "space speaks" (Ardener, 1981 p12).

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS A THEORY OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim in this chapter is to assess the practice and potential of community participation in education as a response to the educational crisis in South Africa at a local level. In order to understand the situation at the two case studies (Phambili and Thembalihle-Good Hope schools) literature on community participation will be examined focusing on modernisation and dependency theory. The study is not only concerned with how community participation evolves and by whom, but how it gains its particular character based on where it occurs. The focus is on place, on difference, on distinctiveness - on uniqueness. Arguably, in community participation, "space speaks" loudly (Ardener, 1981 p12). A brief review of the literature on space is important to understand (and assess) its influence on community participation in resolving the crisis of education provision in the two case studies within the DFR.

This chapter consists of six sections. It initiates the discussion by giving a brief summary to indicate the background in which community participation is located and from which it has emerged. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 provide a theoretical overview of modernisation and dependency growth strategies respectively, and assess their failures to eradicate poverty in developing countries.

Criticisms labelled against modernisation and dependency theories have given rise to new alternative development strategies such as community development approaches. The main focus of these include the centrality of involving the marginalised in policy formulation, implementation and control.

However, these approaches seem to be state-directed, paternalistic and top-down and their failures are very much realized due to the exclusion of people in development processes.

With the increasing recognition of the importance of grassroots involvement as advocated by the community participatory approach, a need to explain the concept of participation arises. This is dealt with in section 2.5 which also outlines the problems associated with participation as a bottom-up and voluntary approach (people-orientated). Because of the local nature of community participation in education, the crucial role of space will be reviewed in section 2.6.

Even though the structure of the chapter deals with the theoretical content in a way that suggests a chronological ordering of ideas, it is not meant to imply an evolution of ideas. The theory or approaches should not be considered to be exclusive to those periods and it would be incorrect to imply that the mounting criticisms referred to in this chapter spell out the end of the contribution of modernisation and dependency theories' to development. However, criticisms are made to highlight some weaknesses and important contributions which these paradigms made and continue to make towards the development theory and practice.

2.2 LITERATURE ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Over the past few years, development specialists have expressed increasing concern over the lack of progress in altering the plight of the poor (Dewar et al, 1986).

There has been a shift from the capital investment growth models of the 1960's to the more people-centered basic needs approaches that are increasingly dominating development thinking¹. In this process, people are turning to the most important and least understood of the development strategies which is that of popular participation. Increasing numbers of studies and activities are being undertaken to bolster government and donor capacity to promote participation in development programmes, yet there is little agreement on the nature of participation in development, that is "... popularity without clarity" (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980 p124).

Participation is, however, not a new concept in development. It has existed under various names over the past years². What is new is the increasing emphasis and even faith placed in participation by government, people and donors alike. In the order to understand the emergence, evolution and current views about community participation, it is necessary to situate and place community participation literature within the broader context of development theories, that is, the modernisation or diffusionist paradigm and the dependency paradigm, together with their critiques (Fair, 1982)

1 *This is concerned with the removal of the poverty among the poorest population groups through the identification of a minimum set of goods and services which are considered as people's basic needs or necessities. This approach may take a conservative paternalistic form whereby the needy population or target group is supplied with their needs in a social-welfare approach. It may also take a more radical form in which it is perceived as a means of providing structural changes amongst the poor ensuring that in the long term, the poor would be in a position to satisfy their own basic needs, empowerment being the main objective. (Dewar *et al*, 1986).*

2 *For example, the grassroots level approach intervention, development by invitation, public participation, putting the last and faceless first, African National Congress (ANC) Power to the People, bottom-up approach, unified developments, holistic development and empowered approach.*

These two paradigms present a fundamental contrast in perspectives as to what causes underdevelopment, how it is perpetuated and how it can be overcome. It is due to dissatisfaction with these traditional approaches that concepts of development which call for 'human resources' to be drawn into development through participation have emerged. (Dewar et al, 1986).

2.3 MODERNISATION THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT

In brief, modernisation is an attempt to establish a model for understanding universal patterns of change and development (Mittelman, 1988)³. The modernisation paradigm, also referred to as diffusion theory, has a number of assumptions within it.

Theorists within the modernisation paradigm assume that developing countries develop along an evolutionary continuum from traditional to modern; passing through the distinct phases which the advanced industrialized countries have previously progressed (Fair, 1982). Modernisation theorists not only distinguish nations in terms of dichotomy between tradition and modernity, but also reflect this split in segments of the society and sectors of an economy. In all realms, traditions is believed to be staid and inhibiting, whereas modernity is vigorous and creative (Mittelman, 1988).

3 *All societies, are thought to go through the same path of development. Progression is thus fixed and linear (Rostow 1960, as cited in Fair, 1982).*

This development path is closely linked to Walter Rostow's five stages model of development in which technical innovation is stressed (Houghton as cited in Fair, 1982). This basically means that the development experience can be repeated, replicated or imitated as it consists exclusively of material progress without looking at the explanations of the causes of social changes (Hoogvelt, 1982)⁴. Underdevelopment is viewed as the starting condition of all societies and development of the less developed countries means repeating the experience of Europe and North America (De Sousa and Porter, 1974)⁵. The backward countries can thus see future images of themselves in advanced societies and can become advanced through the 'trickle down' effect of growth impulses from the more developed to the less developed areas (Fair, 1982). In this way, the 'late-comers to development', will eventually catch up with the developed world through an increase in technological methods of production (Fair, 1982). Modernisation theorists offer a vision of a restructured global based upon universal processes of development (Mittelman, 1988).

Modernisation theorists believe that the wholesale adoption of Western social, cultural and political structures is crucial for development (Hoogvelt, 1982), thus making development mainly Eurocentric or a Western-orientated strategy.

4 *Emphasis is placed on economic growth thus modernisation theorists perceive growth and development as the same thing (Browett, 1980). In fact, material progress or growth is an increase in the size of the country's national product, and development as the unfolding of the creative possibilities inherent in society (Friedmann, 1973; Mittelman, 1988).*

5 *The starting point of all nations is considered to be traditional society.*

Underdevelopment is viewed by modernisation theorists as inherent in the traditional people themselves because they resist change and cling to their old traditional customs (Mittelman, 1988).

In order for underdeveloped countries to catch up, it is necessary according to Mittelman (1988), also with capital inputs, to educate people to adopt 'modern' values and develop the competencies and knowledge required to develop and manage a modern sector economy. As such national development is conceptualized, within the modernisation paradigm, as being dependent on the improvement of its human capital of population to increase its productive capacity.

The modernisation theory met with heated debates and criticisms and this led to the emergency of dependency theories.

2.4 THE DEPENDENCY PARADIGM

Dependency theory is a critique of the underlying assumptions of modernisation theory. Instead of looking at countries in terms of the traditional-modern dichotomy the theorists put forward a centre-periphery paradigm (Frank, 1971). Dependency theorists believe the problem with poor developing countries is not that they lack resources, certain socio-economic and cultural traits, and technological know-how, but that they are being exploited by the world-wide capitalist system (Frank, 1971). They argue that underdevelopment is not a pre-modern stage, but is a consequence of capitalist development (Hoogvelt, 1982) that is, underdevelopment is the 'by-product' of the very process of capitalist growth (Cardoso, 1982). They postulate that advanced countries developed through the exploitation or expropriation of the economic surplus of colonized countries.

This conception has been categorized by Frank (1971) as the 'development of underdevelopment'. Lenin (as cited in Cardoso, 1982), argues that economic expansion is meaningless if the political, social and historical aspects with which economic factors are intimately related, are not taken into consideration. Dependency theorists also argue that there is no single line of development through the stages of economic growth as outlined by Rostow (Cardoso, 1982). Furthermore, they maintain that no development strategy is ahistorical and evolutionary, that is, occurs within a harmonious social order (Mabogunje, 1980).

As a result, dependency theorists claim that the only way dependent developing countries can uplift themselves is by abolishing modern day imperialism, that is, capitalism (Frank, 1971; Hoogvelt, 1982). Capitalism must be defeated, in most instances by revolutionary violence, and 'development' can only take place as an exploited country frees itself from dependency on the international capitalist system (Berger, 1974 as cited in Fair, 1982)⁶.

Change, as implied by the diffusionist theorists, is not a simple linear process of cause leading to effect, and effect becoming the cause of a further change as implied in Rostow's stages of growth. Most dependency theorists argue that the evolutionary optimism put forward by the modernisation theory is often used to legitimize coercion of the developing countries into accepting new grants (Mabogunje, 1980; Fair, 1982). In this view, conflict, not harmony, is the normal condition of a society and the occasions for conflict increase as a society becomes more complex (Mittelman, 1988).

6 *Some strategy of 'delinking' the country from the world economy by expropriating foreign capital and or controlling its entry, cutting down imports, etc. with associated internal redistributive measures, is proposed by Seers (1981).*

Although the dependency theorists assail modernisation theorists for being ahistorical, dependency writing itself tends to be historically weak. The concept of unequal exchange concerns trade between nations, that is from core to periphery or between, and does not address the question of class struggle (Cardoso, 1982). Emphasis is placed too much on unequal exchange or trade and not on unfolding social relations in the production system (Corbridge, 1982). This would involve examining the changing socio-economic and political relations between ordinary people on the one hand, and the dominant classes on the other, in a specific geo-historical context (Mittelman, 1988; Corbridge, 1989). According to Corbridge (1989, p232),

Some, few countries move from periphery to core and vice versa, but nothing of significance is change by this; the game remains the same, the ladder is still in place.

Dependency theorists also suffer from a 'conceptual vocabulary' in that they generalize and equate dependency with underdevelopment (Mittelman, 1988; Corbridge, 1989). The mere fact that a country is receiving external aid from another country does not necessarily mean that it is dependent and thus underdeveloped. It is debatable that all external aid leads to dependency without a look at its positive practicalities of providing capital for further development (Booth, 1985)⁷.

7 *Canada, by virtue of its position in the international division of labour has been mistakenly seen by dependency theorists as being dependent on the United States (U.S.), whereas it is in no way dependent (Corbridge, 1989).*

Forbes (1984, p76) says that:

By unwittingly straying into economic determinism they (dependentistas) have become mechanistic and the practical value of their theories limited.

The dependency framework also omitted socialist countries in terms of the role they are supposed to play in a capitalist world economy and in terms of where they fit or are situated in the centre-periphery distinction (Booth, 1985). Not only do the 'dependentistas' neglect this issue, but they also fail to come to grips with how to eliminate dependency (Booth, 1985; Mittelman, 1988; Corbridge, 1989).

The limitations of dependency theories, however, act as a guide to action. Their assumption that the only way for the underdeveloped countries to develop, is to delink from the world economy and to follow a path of national autonomous development, calls for strategy of self-reliance (Forbes, 1984; Mittelman, 1988). Although this strategy addresses the problem of scale, it is only located in exchange relations and not in class formation and class struggle (Booth, 1985). Moves towards self-reliant development, which is expected to bring about domestic accumulation and development are considered.

2.5 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT/COMMUNITY PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES?

With the modernisation paradigm discredited and the dependency paradigm in a *cul-de-sac*, 'trapped in its mirror image perception' of the modernisation paradigm, moves towards the direction of reformism and self-reliance as the essential element to add to the development equation are considered (Browett, 1981; Fair, 1981)⁸.

Arguments for development based on the specific needs and conditions of developing countries, on internally orientated solutions, on locally defined needs, and on dealing with 'poverty and inequality in a direct way' are advanced (Dewar et al, 1986). This is accompanied by concerns such as the satisfaction of basic needs, liberation from dependency, quality of life, national and individual self-reliance, decentralized and democratic decision making, appropriate technology and the mobilization of local resources.

8 *Many of the assumptions of the dependency and diffusionist theory cover the same ground albeit in a direct oppositional form. For instance, one considers the spread of development, the other the spread of underdevelopment, one the need for greater world interdependence, the other the need for greater self-reliant development (Browett, 1981; Forbes, 1984).*

During decolonization with a number of countries gaining independence, the establishment of community development in less developed countries as a response to the end of colonization was critical (Lund, 1987)⁹. Community development was further emphasized when the United Nations (UN) adopted and promoted it as part of its policy in the developing countries and eventually proposed this definition as cited in Lund (1987, p3).

The term community development has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these opportunities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.

This complex process is then made up of two essential elements; the participation by the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living, with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative; and the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help, and make these more effective.

Three important applications of the concept of community development emerged in a number of developing countries. These are co-operatives, community development and 'animation rurale' (Gow and Vansant, 1983). They were introduced with the aim of mobilizing participation at a local level. Three community development applications as derived from Gow and Vansant (1983) are discussed below.

9 *This happened in the 1960's when the pressing need for self-reliance was recognized during decolonization. Four factors are commonly cited as central concerns which gave impetus to the birth and rapid extensions of community development (Buttern, 1957; du Sautoy, 1958; United Nations, 1963; as cited in Lund, 1987).*

- i) *A need for mass adult education and literacy initiatives.*
- ii) *A need to mobilize/use the previously untapped, valuable, national resource of labour.*
- iii) *A need for local and regional administrative structures.*
- iv) *A need to forge national unity in societies which were deeply divided on tribal and ethnic lines.*

First, co-operatives are voluntary creations of individuals who organize and control themselves to increase their collective working production. Development officers from the government are needed in the initial training of the co-operative members briefing them about government supported credit and technical assistance. The rationale behind co-operatives is to channel self interest into the workings of a group and to learn skills and flaws of business enterprise in a slightly more sheltered and guided atmosphere.

In practices, co-operatives bring little benefit to the poorer masses and cannot be generally regarded as agents of change for such groups because it is mainly the better-off or elite inhabitants of the area who take advantage of co-operative services. Co-operatives generally failed because while they were originally conceived of as bottom-up approaches, they soon became vehicles for the promotion of existing government programmes.

The second application of the development approach is broadly termed community development. This approach is based on the notion that no government can afford to place teams of technicians and development officers in every community. The solution was thus to create a multi-purpose village level worker. This worker, a person from outside the village and with at least a high school education, would live and work with the villagers. The person is expected to gain the communities confidence, organize village groups and help them identify their basic needs, helping members of the community to realize their potential in terms of their own culture.

Community development failed because community ideas and initiatives were not effectively linked to the broader administrative structure of the government and international donors whose support is essential in terms of financial assistance.

The third community development proposal is called 'animation rurale'. Governments selected areas in developing countries that demonstrated potential for self-help and encouraged local villagers to select one of their young people to send to a regional training centre, to be trained as an amateur. Training would emphasize practical technical skills and how to plan and implement local projects. Returning to the village, the person would put the newly acquired knowledge into practice and involve the entire community in decisions concerning the local development activities. This was however, perceived as taking development pressure for performance off the government and bringing in a piecemeal approach to development that emphasized the individual village per se rather than the regional economy and society of which it was part. The pressure for quick results was also perceived as leading to government to rely on better-off people within the village and thus to undesirable patterns of benefit distribution.

The three community development approaches stress the assumption that there is harmony of interests between communities and the nation state, who will work together for national progress. A further assumption is that communities are viewed as 'homogeneous entities' - the people themselves depicted as of one mind in terms of what constitute progress or upliftment (Lund, 1987). These approaches however, take a paternalistic form wherein people are identified as 'target groups' for development (Dewar *et al.*, 1986). Participation means, in many instances, enforced physical labour on projects identified from outside the local level.

According to Lund (1987) these community development applications take it for granted that all that is needed are the techniques for arousing and stimulating community initiatives in order to secure active and enthusiastic response.

The concept is more often used to legitimize coercing the traditional peasants, without their participation in the initiation, design, implementation and control of community programmes (Lund, 1987; Mittelman, 1988). The socio-economic and political position of the people should also be taken into consideration because the whole success of a project depends on the people's ability to maintain it (Dewar et al, 1986). Sustainability of a project as Dewar et al, (1986) point out, further depends on the satisfaction of people's non-material needs and community projects should be sensitive to such non-measurable human needs.

The community development assumptions have resonance with the discredited theory of modernisation thus putting the central role of the approaches as that of changing people's so-called 'resistant, traditional, conservative, worldview' to 'rational economic man' without conflict (Chambers, 1983; Dewar et al, 1986).

According to Chambers (1983), community development strategies exclude the real issue of development, that is human values, choices, experiences, how these choices are made and by whom. These strategies view people as objects and instruments for achieving socio-economic goals without a recognition of the increasing importance of people's full participation in development that will lead to the satisfaction of basic needs (Chambers, 1983). There is usually no communication, co-operation and co-ordination between the authorities and the local people, and this mitigates against the holistic, integrated efforts required for programmes to be successful.

2.6 TOWARDS A BOTTOM-UP APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT : COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

The problems and failures of community development approaches led to a move amongst development theorists and practitioners from the narrow focus on economic growth to a consideration of programmes which would be more responsive and appropriate to local conditions and local people (Nattrass, 1983). Some conceptions took this idea to the extreme by advocating relative cultural and territorial development; that is, development that begins from the resources and needs of a spatially defined region and set of people (Friedmann and Weaver, 1979). In this way, development is thus seen as a process whereby people who have previously been marginalised and excluded learn to take control of and hence change their lives and their collective situations (Goulet, 1979 as cited in Dewar et al, 1986). An element of community self-help as means of meeting basic needs is raised in this regard. Community self-help is related to the concept of 'development from dependency', that is a central part of the process of development wherein the people discover for themselves that they can take control of their lives (Dewar et al, 1986).

In this conception, the practice of capitalising on the existence of local knowledge may lead to control making such a development strategy context specific. This might have a dual purpose. For instance, as an efficient way of satisfying material basic needs and to promote the satisfaction of important, 'non-material' basic needs, that of participation through the decentralization of decision-making. Self initiated actions by the poor or 'faceless' are often logical and creative responses to the social and physical condition that they face and thus local resourcefulness is a rich resource to be tapped, as pointed out by Chambers (1983).

Such 'bottom-up' approaches, therefore differ in three main ways from 'top-down' approaches. First, development with the former approach is seen not only as an economic concept, but also as a process dealing with the total human condition. Secondly, proponents argue that development and paths have to be appropriate to the context that is, 'field-dependent' (Ekanayake, 1990). Furthermore, the problem of development is viewed as that of form, and that if it occurs bottom-up from the 'faceless people' or 'grassroots' it will be possible to fulfil the demands of both growth and basic needs (Chambers, 1983). In this way, bottom-up approaches involve an emphasis on local initiative and participation in development (Streeten, 1981; Riddell, 1985) and encompass more tangible local basic needs like housing, education, food, clothing and employment, which are all collectively referred to as social welfare services (Dewar et al, 1986).

It is therefore increasingly apparent that participation forms an integral part of development and it is thus important to look at the meaning of the concept 'community', before 'participation' is defined.

o

The term 'community' came into use in development when it was realized that the success of development approaches depends on taking into account the collective approach as opposed to the individualistic elite-central approach in promoting development. Cox and Cox (1971) use the word 'community' to embrace both residents of a particular locality under study and all those who serve, represent or take decisions on their behalf on matters affecting the community's lives or their environment. These participants according to Cox and Cox (1971) can be very simply categorized on four levels:

- a) Grassroots participation - The people themselves.
- b) Local groups - Local representatives of political, religious or other groups.
- c) Local government - Locally based officers acting for government agencies.
- d) Central government - Officers, members and ministers of central government.

Community participation can be said to occur when people act in concert to advise, decide or act on issues which can be best solved through such joint action, hence the use of the qualifying term 'community' (Paul, 1987). Therefore, the joint or collaborative involvement of beneficiaries in groups is a hallmark of community participation.

In order to understand what participation is, it is necessary to briefly trace its historical occurrences. As early as Aristotle's time in Greek society, participation was a matter of voting, holding office, attending public meetings, paying taxes and defending the state (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980). Those who were to get the benefits of citizenship were expected to bear the costs of maintaining the public realm, and vice versa. Even at this stage, participation attracted wider public attention because of the emotional involvement of people and did not go unnoticed (Henderson, 1978). Participation is clearly seen in the definition of community development adopted by the United Nations in 1963 wherein the community's level of living, and reliance on their own initiative, is emphasized (Lund, 1978).

Turton (1987) offers a further dimension by defining community participation as the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control. Cohen and Uphoff (1980) point out that the more directly people are involved in development issues that affect their well-being, in a short period of time, in a defined area, the better the chances of getting full participation.

This indeed presupposes the importance of space (whether absolute or relative), time, socio-political factors at play and more so the type of project undertaken. Contextual understanding ensures the question of what can and cannot be done in terms of given resources, time limits, know-how and societal service delivery (people-orientated), there is a considerable potential for the use of community participation (Dewar et al, 1986).

While it might be convenient to treat participation as a well defined concept capable of measurement, this study chooses to treat it as a rubric under which a number of clearly definable elements can be assembled.

It appears that participation has elements of decentralization. Instead of centralized authorities providing the poor and the marginalised with blueprints for development, this function is shifted to the less privileged to come up with an agenda of their own needs and to initiate programmes to solve their problems. If decentralization does not somehow make local functionaries answerable to the poor, it merely brings a change in the mode of their exploitation (Mittelman, 1988). In general, decentralization is a necessary adjunct, but by itself, without accountability to the people and by the people, independence will not generate local participation.

Participation also depends on the socio-economic well-being of the community. The community should be in a position to carry out projects both financially and in terms of skills (Streeten, 1981). Streeten (1981) further notes that participation in a project is determined by the community's level of education or literacy, co-operation and interest throughout the development process.

Participation should be geared towards the empowerment of people, taking an anti-domination stance and giving value to local knowledge, people's technical capacities and understandings (Paul, 1987). It is important to point out that training should be provided in cases where such skills do not exist. Community participation is in this way, an invitation to growth and development (Paul, 1978).

Community participation is an active process whereby beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of development projects based on the immediate available resources, rather than merely receiving a share of projects' benefits (Ackhoff, 1986; Paul, 1987). People are the objects of development and it is their involvement which is of concern here. However, according to Paul (1987), the participation of government personnel or of donor staff is also important. A participatory form of government provides a supportive environment for community participation at both the micro and macro level. This suggests the need to bridge what is perceived by development practitioners and theorists as a communication gap between people and the state (Paul, 1987).

Community participation further means reading the signs of the times and place, moving from stage to stage, listening to all people and responding to the needs of the moment (SACBC, 1989)¹⁰.

Community participation when viewed as a process, gives us a dimension that goes beyond the end product of benefit sharing, and thus it also includes issues of accountability and project continuity or sustainability (Paul, 1987).

This means that it should not just be encouraged for the sake of the positive rewards at the end of the project. But participants should be accountable for the project, continue and sustain it until it is finalized. They should carry the responsibilities throughout its operational time and not wait for the end results only. In this way, participation becomes a means to an end and not an end in itself.

Community participation is however not as simple as it is advocated. It is riddled with some complexities which need to be examined.

2.7 **PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION**

Conflict is an inevitable part of the process of development and community participation has some problems associated with it (Lund, 1987). These are as follows:

1. Even though participation emphasis the involvement of the local people and liberating way, there may be tendencies for outcomes to be in a more populist and manipulative direction. Participation within, for example government programmes is doomed to fail the poor, as they have no bargaining powers and thus can be manipulated or coerced for particular objectives (Lund, 1987).

The government may see participation as a vehicle for containment and placation of the poor. On the other hand, the poor may want peoples control and interpret participation as an overthrow of the very government institutions they feel are oppressive (Lund, 1987). Such a situation is inevitable, but it should rather be used to effectively inform the authorities about the people's problems as seen through their own eyes.

2. Due to the large scale of modern society, direct participation by every individual is not possible (Paul, 1987)¹¹. Thus representative participation, even at the local level is often necessary. However, it is difficult to access how representative of the community the participants are, and the community itself may shift their responsibilities to the representatives and take on a non-participatory position. In the end, the community will be so alienated from and unfamiliar with the process, that they will seem apathetic and disinterested and will probably not be in a position to contribute meaningfully to the process (Lund, 1987).
3. Interests of various groups may be so fundamentally opposed that no amount of negotiation will result in compromise (Lund, 1987). This is so because communities are composed of a multitude of individuals with opposing views. This situation means that certain interests are furthered at the expense of others in spite of participation by various interest groups (Lund, 1987).
4. The person initiating the participatory exercise should have a clear conception of society and social change, and what the participation is to achieve (Dewar et al, 1986). S/he may be labelled as being communist, mobilizing the people against the government, and the ultimate threat, inciting hatred and being divisive. On the other hand, s/he may also be seen as being engaged in a process of relocating the costs for school services away from the state and thus have negative consequences among progressive movements and thus the whole community (Turton, 1987).

5. Participation is fundamentally linked to the historico-political processes which are responsible for the allocation and distribution of resources. Certain groups and individuals are kept out of the decision-making process by their socio-economic and political situations in the interests of maintaining the status quo (Turton, 1987).

Despite the problems outlined, it should be noted that participation is increasingly recommended by development theorists and practitioners as an integral part of the solution to a community's problems. Meeting human needs should not simply be the task of a few, but of all, as this is related to the principles of democracy. Because it is people-centered and rooted in people's evolving experiences, participation encourages critical consciousness among the people of their own situation who would then take action appropriate to their situation, time and place to resolve their problems.

Again there are wide variations in social structure independent of political and economic features, hence each locality has to be analyzed in terms of the complete history of local interactions. This presupposes a need to examine the role of space in community participation.

2.8 THE ROLE OF SPACE AND LOCALITY IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Participation demands a new practical, experiential approach to development based on local solutions to critical problems of society (ESCAP, 1977)¹². This pertains to the micro-level since it is at the grassroots that real participation needs to begin. The concern with the specificity of places or localities enables this study to make a valuable contribution to the concept of community participation by providing a geographical perspective.

The point of departure stems from the position taken by Sayer (1985) on the 'difference that space make' and the realization by Massey (1985) that 'social relations are also constructed over space, and that makes a difference'. The spatial is thus seen as a social construct. This is further explained by Massey (1984, p52) that:

the fact that social processes take place over space, the facts of distance or closeness, of geographical variation between areas, of the individual character and meaning of specific places and regions - all these are essential to the operation of the social processes themselves. Just as there are not purely spatial processes, neither are non-spatial social processes.

People, as self-interpreting being able to monitor their situations and learn from them, have an exceptionally wide and volatile range of causal liabilities (Sayer, 1985)¹³. People can come to be influenced by their contexts in new ways, so that the difference that space makes is never entirely constant. It is proposed therefore that the principle of spatial indifference has no scope in community participation.

There are spatial relationships, processes and forms associated with geographically uneven development at a national and international scale which have a clear local geographical expression. These are however, contingent upon social and historical processes while simultaneously formative of society and history (Massey, 1978). This study attempts an analysis which involves generalization of relatively specific and localized empirical developments into large-scale general concepts of development. The study further attempts to show that such analysis is not based on the proper abstraction of the theoretical properties of given entities, but rather on collapsing the effects of several interacting entities into some supposedly general empirical trend. This is better stated by Massey (1985, p12) in that:

the social economic structure of any given local area will be a complex result of the combination of that area's succession of roles within the series of wider national and international spatial divisions of labour.

Traditional social relations of family, ethnicity, religion, for examples, define not simply a sphere of predictability and self-confidence, but also sources of self-identification with a particular locality (Pillay, 1990). Although such traditional foundations of social relations may have now been weakened of social interaction of the modern type also provides some basis for popular local dependence (Pillay, 1990; Urry, 1985). Community participation allows for the development of a collective consciousness of the value of a shared locality to develop. The meanings or interest people invest in localities may, or may not, be at variance with those of local government authorities (McCarthy and Wellings, 1988). The potential areas of conflict between people's definition of locality's value are often reflected in and among local, regional and national state structures (Pillay, 1990).

The mutuality of the oppressed and the existence of some kind of collective identity go beyond the political tensions within a community and collective action can in a sense dissipate the individual self-interest (Urry, 1985). Establishing and maintaining such collective identities and actions depends upon the particular temporal and spatial structuring of society. This necessitates developmental restructuring with its aims being to create spatially conscious strategies at all geographical scales, in all territorial locales, in order to 'derigidify' long-established structure. Harvey (1985) calls this continuous process the 'formation and re-formation of geographical landscapes'.

This implies that, although the study on community participation is more based on the restructuring and development of a specific locality, it is inextricably linked to, and derives from the question on the nature of the region or country; in other words, an explanation which is context-dependent or field-dependent (Ekanayake, 1990).

The importance of space, social power and the power of the state is emphasized to inform people's understanding of the limits and potentials of community participation in South Africa.

2.9 **CONCLUSION**

This chapter sketched some of the main issues raised in the development literature. Implicit in the discussion is the growing recognition of the need to restore balance to development theory and practice by shifting it away from political economy towards the complex array of social processes within which underdevelopment is embedded. The need for local people to draw on their own initiatives to improve the quality of their lives is further emphasized. This was not done without exposing the criticisms labelled at participation.

The preoccupation of community participation with 'locality' urged a need to look at the role of space in the present development approach, thus placing it in the geographical perspective.

In the following chapter, education in South Africa will be outlined. Education was chosen because it is basically one of the most important human needs, but schooling for Blacks in South Africa is a site of struggle, a political cauldron in a chronic state of crisis, subject to frequent disruptions and other kinds of breakdowns. Among the solutions proposed to resolve the education crisis was the call for 'people's education' in the 1980s.

This is in line with the important parameter of community participation, that is, that of focusing on the initiatives of the local people as opposed to the imported development projects as advocated by the modernistic theories and planners. Education as seen by the modernist education planners, is presented as a process of natural and unproblematic growth, rather than as the outcome of a complex historical process in which each new development is contested by the interested parties.

A brief discussion of education in South Africa follows in the next chapter. This is necessary to understand and contextualise the background against which the two case studies (Phambili and Thembalihle schools) were established.

CHAPTER 3

EDUCATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES : SOUTH AFRICA

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The crisis in South Africa's education system is part of a wider social and political crisis, as such, the reconstruction of education cannot be viewed in isolation from the forces at work in society. This has been aptly emphasized by Lushakuzi (1983, p2):

...education was the most important tool for total human oppression and underdevelopment in colonial Africa. So it is by using the same education that total human liberation and development can be brought forth. Education becomes a means to development.

This statement suggests that education is a tool through which value systems are transmitted. In South Africa, the enforcement of separate education through the Bantu Education Act introduced in 1953 has triggered the rejection of the Black system of education (Mkhatshwa, 1985). In the last three decades, protests against discrimination in education have been overshadowed by political protests and sometimes violent campaigns against apartheid (Noruwana, 1980). In recent years, the methods used to demand better quality education range from school boycotts and stayaways to consumer boycotts.

The present trends in South Africa's political and constitutional sphere indicate a declared policy to devolve certain powers and decision-making to the local level (Mkhatshwa, 1985). Decision-making would also include people from all population groups and political organizations.

In view of education's inextricable link with the socio-political system, fundamental reform is a demand for full participation in all social structures.

The education system as presently structured, provided and delivered in South Africa, is failing to reach, let alone satisfy the majority of people's needs, especially Blacks. It is in the light of this awareness that community participation is promoted as an appropriate response to the education crisis especially, in the provision of schooling (D'Aeth, 1975; SYNCOM¹, 1986).

3.2 **WHAT IS EDUCATION?**

The UNESCO International Standard Classification of Education defines education as comprising of organized and sustained communication designed to bring about learning (UNESCO, 1975). Communication in the sense implied here requires a relationship between two or more people involving the transfer of information. 'Organized' means planned in a sequence with established aims and curricula, and 'sustained' means that the learning experience has duration and continuity. 'Learning' is taken to mean any change in behaviour, knowledge, understanding, skills or capabilities which the learner retains and which cannot be ascribed simply to physical growth or to the development of inherited behaviour patterns.

Clearly what goes on in the institution called a school is intended to be education in these terms, but equally, education may be carried out outside formal schooling. Furthermore, non-formal education occurs in the context of other educational institutions, such as the family and mass media, whose role and impact over a short period have changed considerably (Simkins, 1976). Parents, churches, libraries, museums, youth camps, factories, radio stations and television networks, relate to each other in what Cremlin (1976) (cited in Ferge, 1981) calls 'configurations of education'. These have to be viewed in relation to each other and to the larger society that sustains them and in turn is affected by them.

But educational theorists and developers sometimes fail to recognize that education is a social institution which is also acted upon by other factors operating in society. To a large extent what education is and does, is not determined by the educator but by others, individuals and groups with their different perceptions - and the whole socio-political and economic context within which education works will moderate what is achieved by any of the community concerned (Mkhatshwa, 1985). Education thus must be viewed in its social, economic, cultural and political context.

To use a sporting image, if one conceives of education as a football, one should remember that educationists are not the only players on the field who are kicking it and that other players, politicians, economists, parents, pupils and others, may be seeking to kick it in different directions (Thompson, 1981). What actually happens to the ball will depend however, not simply upon who kicks it or who stops it, but also upon the direction of the wind, the slope of the field and the length of the grass (Thompson, 1981). •

The 'wind' may represent the general current of change within a society which some people will wish to resist and others to go along with, the 'slope' of the field may represent the resources which are available - where they are limited, people may indeed have an uphill task ahead of them; and 'the length of the grass' may represent the many factors of inertia existing in their situation including a cluster of attitudes and values prevalent in that society contrary to those educators are seeking to implant (Thompson, 1981). Associated with this, is the principle that what one learns should be related to one's environment and to the immediate needs of one's particular stage of development and also according to the basic needs of society (D'Aeth, 1975; Thompson, 1981). •

The school, for children from all walks of life, may serve as "a great equalizer of the conditions of men (sic), the balance wheel of the social machinery..." (Husen, 1981 p41).

The rising standard of living indeed stimulates a social demand for education.

The conception of education as a capital investment with a high rate of return both to the individual and to society provides the justification for the education sector to grow at twice the rate of growth of the economy (Grobbelaar, 1990). Apart from an equalizer, the school is thus seen as a prime instrument for individuals born in humble circumstances to move up the social ladder (Husen, 1981).

On the other hand it is hardly possible to change society only through education (D'Aeth, 1975; Husen, 1981). To equalize educational opportunities without influencing working conditions, improvement of housing, health and the setting of wages and so on, in other ways, would easily become an empty gesture (D'Aeth, 1975; Grobbelaar, 1990). The reforms in educational policy must go together with reforms in other fields, economic, social and political policies (Husen, 1981; Thompson, 1981).

3.2.1 Components of Education

The distinctions between formal and informal education are made in order to begin to understand what 'school' is. Malinowski (1974) (as cited in Thompson, 1981) defines schooling as that somewhat restricted part of education which is given by professional educators to those who come under their tutelage in organized institutions of learning, distinguishing formal from informal education in terms of its outward characteristics rather than basic functions. In so far as schools are required to pass on to rising generations the attitudes, values, skills, social understanding and practice of the societies to which they belong; to socialize them and enable them to fit usefully and harmoniously into those societies; there is however, no difference between what schools do and what has always been done by informal means (Simkins, 1976).

Basically every education programme is either 'formal' or 'informal'; 'socializing' or 'mobilizing'; and 'dominating' or 'liberating' (UNESCO, 1975). 'Formal' refers essentially to schooling which is made up of processes of learning provided in specially designed learning environments and processes of more highly specific nature which, though they may not take place in such designed environments are nevertheless thought of as fundamentally different from 'informal' which includes all out-of-school learning (Simkins, 1976). 'Informal' education refers to such processes by which an individual learns the culture of her/his group through living in and with her/his group (Duminy and Steyn, 1982).

'Socializing' or 'non-formal' education characterizes most traditional forms of education, in which the individuals are moulded to fit into the economic and political structures of a particular social system (Knowles, 1980). In some classic statements it comes to be a collection of positive features to be seen against a collection of negative features which constitute formal education (Simkins, 1976). 'Mobilizing' education in contrast, enables people to change their fundamental socio-economic environment (Kindervatter, 1979). Education can also be 'dominating', used by one group to control another, or 'liberating', the antitheses of dominating (Grobbelaar, 1990).

It is apparent that in spite of confusion over function, the school serves some functions which are very different from those of traditional informal education, and in some respects the opposite. The justification of the formal schooling tradition in Africa must largely lie in the claim that such functions can only or at least best be provided in a formal institution (Simkins, 1976; Knowles, 1980; Thompson, 1981)².

However, schooling, in all societies, does not go uncriticised. The selection and allocation of functions performed by the schools, have encouraged a selfish elitism and individualism alien to the traditions of African society (Thompson, 1981). Education in the current mould has also encouraged a drift of young people to towns, is responsible for a profound cleavage between educated elites and the masses, the loosening of moral standards and the decay of much that is valued in traditional society (Grobbelaar, 1990; Thompson, 1981). Its curricula are said to be bookish and orientated towards higher levels of education which are beyond the reach of the majority of their pupils. Most important is the fact that formal education in Africa is often divorced from the life and culture of the local people, that is, spatially disoriented, and consequently unsuited for preparing the child for life in her/his community (Grobbelaar, 1990; Kindervatter, 1979). The debates raised against the Black education system are however, in no way advocating for the total eradication of formal education, as Nyerere has argued:

It is quite clear that in Africa at any rate, the problem of integrating education with society cannot be solved by abandoning a formal education structure. We cannot go back to an exclusive dependence upon the traditional system of 'learning by living and doing only (cited in Thompson, 1981 p33).

The methods of teaching in use are said to be examination centered, authoritarian, restrictive of the growing child, failing to produce original thinking or problem-solving ability on the one hand and genuine commitment to the service of the community on the other (Kallaway, 1984; Novak and Gowin, 1989). Underlying such criticisms of the school system in Africa is commonly the assumption that the basic reason for their failures is the fact that they are alien instruments, torn and imported from their European context and set down by colonial powers in societies to which they were related (Grobbelaar, 1990).

Thus historical studies and experiences of education in the developing countries, especially in South African education will be reviewed in order to examine the origin and development of the problems in Black education as these have a valuable part to play in the design of future educational policies.

3.3 THE CONTEXT OF CONTEMPORARY INITIATIVES IN BLACK EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

This section is devoted to some of the problems in Black education which justify the unprecedented spate of demands for better quality education. The context in which this crisis emanates is a reflection of the consequences of the apartheid policies and the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which have helped shape the education system in South Africa (Kallaway, 1984). The Apartheid system is unique as a modern form of discrimination in that it is sanctioned by the ideological commitment of its practitioners. It operates through spatial, political, social, and educational separation of the four major 'race' groups (African, Coloured, Indian and White) as categorized in the Population Registration Act of 1950 (Hlahla, 1990).

The political exclusion and economic exploitation of Africans have lead to an emergence of a variety of protests around the country. People are beginning to organize around issues such as the provision of adequate housing, health, and more recently there has been a demand for a better quality education. It may be added that South Africans possess a firm belief in the power of education to assist in national development, and thus the recent developments and crisis in Black education should be viewed in this regard (Clark, 1980).

3.3.1 Education in South Africa : Recent Developments

Education in many Black schools in South Africa is near to collapse. Since the inception of Bantu Education in 1953, there has been a cumulative breakdown in the learning environment. This breakdown has accelerated rapidly since the Soweto riots of 1976. Tension within the Black schools resurfaced in 1980 and 1985 and since then, there have been country-wide school boycotts in the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

The unequal allocation of financial resources by the government has resulted in a tremendous backlog of educational infrastructures in Black education (Dostal, 1988). Schools for Blacks are underfunded and overcrowded. In some areas there are no schools and, as a result, many Black children receive no education at all (Hartshorne, 1988). The government has recently stated that it will increase Black educational expenditure by 4,1% in real terms annually, over and above the overall increase in educational expenditure (Bot, 1989). In spite of this 'drastic' increase in the funding of Black education, the backlogs remain enormous, and education for Blacks in South Africa is still neither compulsory nor genuinely free (Mkhatshwa, 1985). Some of the proposals made by the government through the ERS if implemented, may alleviate the problem.

The drop-out rate is high, reflecting not only the quality of education available, but also the difficulties parents face in keeping children at school when every wage counts, even a child's (Hartshorne, 1988). Hartshorne (1988) estimates that the drop-out rate percentage varies from region to region within South Africa; between South Africa and the homeland states; between urban and rural areas; and furthermore varies between primary and secondary schools. Dostal (1988) states that in 1984 only 55% of Black pupils and 74% of Coloured pupils reached Standard 4 and could therefore be regarded as being functionally literate.

Although this percentage should improve in future, this still means that large numbers of people are/will be functionally illiterate and will therefore not contribute significantly to the socio-economic upliftment of themselves and their society (Dostal, 1988).

Another example of the high drop out rate among Black pupils is provided by Hartshorne (1986) who has focused exclusively on matric pupils. He states that in 1985, 25 584 pupils were enrolled for Standard 10 with the Department of Education and Training (DET). Of this original figure, 24 231 registered for the senior certificate but only 10 523 wrote the examinations and of these pupils only 4 897 passed, 19,1% of the original enrolment. Hartshorne (1986) further provides statistics showing that DET pupil enrolment at Standard 10 level formed less than a quarter of pupils attending Black schools, but accounted for approximately 70% of the total pupil drop-out over the year. Hartshorne (1988) argues that this high drop-out rate is as a result of for example, civil unrest, violence, boycotts and closure of schools by the DET, for example, 33 in 1986.

The educational vacuum which is developing in South Africa results from many interlinked factors. The authorities are restricting students opportunities to repeat failed exams and age restrictions are enforced (Grobelaar, 1990). Most Black teachers are underqualified and classrooms are overcrowded with limited facilities and equipment (Bot, 1984; City Press, 6 May 1990). Overall, Bot(1984) estimates that 70-80% of DET teachers are underqualified. There is no discipline in the schools and teachers are intimidated, threatened with violence and thus are demoralized (Hartshorne, 1988). Properly qualified teachers, free text books, the abolition of corporal punishment, the ending of sexual harassment of girls in schools, and official recognition of the democratically elected student representative councils (SRC's) were some of the demands of Black pupils (Bot, 1984). Students' grievances are expressed through class boycotts and stayaways (Mkhatshwa, 1985; Morrow, 1990).

Disillusionment is widespread and going to school has become a matter which has to be decided on, to be constantly reviewed.

Before 1985, mobilization over education issues was largely student-centered and protest-based (Morrow, 1990). In the past few years and particularly recently, it has become rooted in the communities at large, who have sought to transform and democratise education provision. The schools' boycott strategy has succeeded in mobilizing both students and communities, in line with the liberation movement's stated aim of making South Africa ungovernable (W.U.S Briefing, 1990). Some people raised the slogan 'liberation now, education later' (W.U.S.Briefing, 1990), but the boycott strategy came under scrutiny from the wider anti-apartheid movement towards the end of 1985. Community conferences on the education crisis led to the formation of the NECC in December 1985 (Grobelaar, 1990). Together with the Parents' Crisis Committees (PCC), the NECC examined the problems of school boycotts as a long-term strategy and addressed the question 'what next?' (W.U.S Briefing, 1990).

The December NECC conference of 1985 led to the conclusion that it was necessary to move forward. Thus the mobilization slogan changed from 'liberation now, education later' to 'people's education for people's power' (Soobrayan, 1989). The conference unanimously issued a call for a nationwide return to school on 28 January 1986, conditional upon certain demands such as withdrawal of troops from the schools, the release of detained students and teachers and the unbanning of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) (Grobelaar, 1990). The positive struggle for people's education was to be conducted within schools and education institutions (W.U.S. Briefing, 1990).

Nevertheless, tension within Black schools continues. The NECC and PCC repeatedly negotiate with the authorities for a normalization of schooling. The government's imposition of a second, nationwide, state of emergency in June 1986 and its allocation of security forces (army and police) into a central role in enforcing regulations in the schools, led to more problems (W.U.S Briefing, 1990). The struggle for education was further strained by the banning of the NECC and the South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO), on 24 February 1988 (W.U.S. Briefing, 1990).

To date, the government has been unable to eliminate the opposition to apartheid education. Most of the conditions that caused dissatisfaction and resistance in the past still remain. Community struggles against apartheid education are continuing. Forms of popular resistance on the one hand, and repression on the other vary greatly according to regional and local conditions. There is little understanding on the part of the government that the attendance of school by children is not a signal of acceptance of the system, but rather an indication of the strength of the community's felt needs for education even if it is not the kind they wish. It also indicates a lack of viable alternatives for their children (Hartshorne, 1988). Grassroots participation remains the only means to the unending school shortages, boycotts and the overall educational crisis (Mkhatshwa, 1985).

In South Africa there are many social, economic, political, historical and oppressing philosophies which interact with the educational process, and which have to be taken into account if the evolution from the present education crisis towards a future post-apartheid education is to be effectively analyzed. Therefore, if an analysis of education is to be effective and comprehensive, one would have to include the wider political, social, and economic context within which educational policies are formulated and carried out (Grobbelaar, 1990).

In the following discussion Bantu Education and its perceived purpose of maintaining the existing racially based status quo in South African society will be reviewed in order to understand the complexities involved.

3.3.2 The Structure of Education in South Africa

This section deals with the nature of the South African education system, its implications for the existing educational frameworks and lastly the needed changes and adjustment so as to accommodate new structures. South Africa's education system has resulted from the Apartheid ideology pertaining to the separation and differentiation of race groups. Such a nature of education is a reflection of the technocentric ideology which directly serves the interests of racial capitalism, producing the knowledge and skills required of the labour market (Davies, 1984; Kallaway, 1984; Galanos, 1989).

Black education in South Africa has by and large been determined by the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and in essence, was made for Blacks and pursued the following objectives with regard to education '...namely the reproduction of a docile and subservient labour force' (Bham, 1983). Some of the implications of the Act were outlined by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the then minister of Native Affairs, that Black education would be located in Black areas and within Black communities, with the Blacks' entrance into the white community being dictated by certain forms of labour (Gerber and Newman, 1980). This Act must, however, be viewed together with other strategic measures, for example, Influx control, Bantu Authorities and Group Areas' Act, aimed to control Blacks and on the other level, making Black education homeland-centered for ultimate homeland control (Bham, 1983).

The Black education system in South Africa is controlled by the DET.

Geographically, the main office is located in Pretoria with regional offices in each of the four provinces for Black schools that fall within white areas' boundaries; and in each homeland which has its own Ministry of Education (Duminy and Steyn, 1982). The education of Coloureds, Whites and Indians is also highly segregated according to race. Furthermore the South African constitutional changes of 1983 provide for education to be both a 'general' affair in so far as it touches on matters common to all races and an 'own affair' with separate ministries for each race (Bham, 1983).

As it is, the DET is responsible for the proper running of schools, payment of teacher salaries, supply of equipment and books, erection of schools, the selection of content and curricula and the control and administration of examinations (Ndlalane, 1990). In December 1988 the Education Minister's powers were extended to include control of admissions into schools and to close down schools (Ndlalane, 1990). The schools within the DET are further divided into community schools, state schools and private schools (Duminy and Steyn, 1982; Bham, 1983; Ndlalane, 1990).

There is a huge discrepancy between the quality of White schools and Black schools. Black schools are comprised of classrooms of varying shabbiness, with sparse furnishings, with few or no books and are more often described as no more than literacy classes (Noruwana, 1980; City Press, 6 May 1990). They do not have playing fields, science laboratories or even ablution blocks. In addressing the education crisis in South Africa, it is important to understand that the specific grievances in Black education are part of general deficiencies in the total system (SYNCOM, 1986). When education is made equal, Black schools will indeed have to be raised to the same quality as that of the other population groups. However during the transition period, Black pupils have to be somehow carried across the dark gulf of institutional inadequacy while staff are trained and facilities are installed across the country (Daily Despatch, 3 October 1980).

What is considered more crucial is the fact that there can obviously be no easy straightforward way of providing for people's aspirations and practical realities when those are so different in kind, cover a wide field, and have complex relationships with economic, social, political and other aspects of development (D'Aeth, 1975). Moreover, people's educational needs vary according to local and regional conditions. A majority of Blacks need literacy and job related skills (Grobbelaar, 1990). Among other population groups these skills are commonplace. The basic question therefore is, how can groups as diverse as these be catered for in a single education system which is expected to provide good education for all without one group dominating³?

The most important ingredient of such an education system would be 'openness' (Noruwana, 1980). Such a system should provide and allow diverse and unlimited opportunities to people at different levels of ability and also situated variably over space (Mkhatshwa, 1985; SYNCOM, 1986). It should also have room for private and other forms of alternative education based on what the local people need, thus opening up avenues for community participation in education.

This would not only come as a top-down blueprint from the government but in terms of content or curriculum, medium of instruction, building of schools; parents, teachers, concerned groups and pupils would also be given a chance to be involved in the education decisions and planning.

3 *It is never quite clear what is meant when a single department of education is advocated. If it means one bureaucracy in Pretoria, or wherever, which employs all the teachers and owns all the schools in the country, it would be an educational and administrative mess.*

On the other hand, if it means a single department which handles basic matters of policy for all on an equal basis, then one will be able to regionalize.

The need and urge for schooling, as well as important education decisions, should come from within the community at the grassroots level (SYNCOM, 1986). Schools need to be assured that they operate with the strength of the community, within and about them (D'Aeth, 1975; SYNCOM, 1986).

The gaps within the community itself and between the community and the government might be met through dialogue which is orientated to the empowerment of people in education and taking an anti-domination stance (Dewar *et al*, 1986). Community initiatives, acceptance, involvement, participation, together with a high credibility of the objectives, methods and management of the education initiative concerned, lie at the heart of the co-operative action between community and funders be it the government or the private sector (Hartshorne, 1988).

The involvement of the private sector in education especially in contributing resources, seems to be the way forward now and in the immediate future (*Daily News*, 9 February 1988). In spite of all the constraints that are part of the educational reality and the very real tensions that might be an inevitable part of such co-operation between 'community' and 'private sector', the latter can play an important role in the process of educational change through bold and imaginative allocation of resources (Mkhwatshwa, 1985; SYNCOM, 1986; Hartshorne, 1988).

3.4 **PEOPLE'S EDUCATION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER**⁴

This section deals with 'people's education' in order to provide the context in which community participation in education is embedded. There are about as many definitions of people's education as there are champions of it.

4 *There exists a controversy in the definition of 'people'. However, what is more important in this regard is an effort to bring decision-making closer to the community in the educational restructuring of South Africa.*

Professor J P de Lange wrote at length on this topic and like all the other attempts found that it is difficult to define, but noted that:

people's education is an effort to gain authority over education, its management and content, to make it as localized as possible. It is also an effort to use education as a political reform (de Lange, 1990 p187).

People's education developed from mass resistance to Bantu Education which culminated in 1985 and spearheaded by the NECC when Black schooling came to a virtual standstill (W.U.S Briefing, 1990). It was born out of a rejection of apartheid education wherein the demands for alternative education went beyond a mere improvement in the quality of education provision, but included the need to change the quality of education (Mkhatshwa, 1985). People's education is an attempt to create a legitimate context for education, and a consideration of the fact that even the limited skills that could be acquired through apartheid education are necessary for the liberation struggle (Mkhatshwa, 1985; Soobrayan, 1989).

The central feature of people's education is that it is a process that is currently unfolding in South Africa. This process is aimed at transforming the shortcomings in the present education system into an alternative one by a mass movement of teachers, students, parents, workers and academics. Resistance against Bantu Education has a long history (Mkhatshwa, 1985). During the 1950's mothers and fathers stopped their children from going into particular schools and during the 1976-77 school boycotts, students took the initiative which generally excluded parents and teachers. In 1985 the emphasis shifted to a closely-knit alliance between communities, students, teachers, politicians and professionals (Mkhatshwa, 1985). People's education aims to serve the majority of the Black people of South Africa by focusing on empowerment and the eradication of illiteracy (Mkhatshwa, 1985; Morrow, 1990).

So far there is no model for people's education and there are no blueprints or seminal texts on people's education that can be subject to analysis, evaluation or critique. Soobrayan (1989, p5) notes that :

It is not an education which is formulated and packaged in committees or commissions and then diluted with a range of other issues for which a mandate is sought from white electorate during elections which take place every five years.

Such models or blueprints for education are doomed to be rejected from the outset by the majority. Therefore, for education to serve the interests of all, it must not only be controlled by the people, but should also give room for participation in its conception, formulation and implementation (Morrow, 1990). Experts too have an important role to play and this role can be facilitated through their participation in the process of building people's education. In this way expert knowledge can be genuinely linked with popular aspirations that flow organically from the grassroots. It is not the role of the expert to 'tell' the people what should be done but rather to service, through active participation, the process of building a democratic and relevant education (Soobrayan, 1989).

The open and democratic nature of people's education has a negative side to it in that it allows for different interpretations to be attached to it. The state views people's education as a plot aimed at the violent overthrow of the state, in keeping with the 'rooi gevaar' or 'swart gevaar' manipulation of white voter emotions and fears (Soobrayan, 1989). On the other hand, in certain parts of the country communities have taken it upon themselves to organize and rebuild schools contrary to the state's propaganda that schools are being burnt (Ndlalane, 1990). The issue here, is not to evaluate people's education in relation to various ideologies. But rather to assess it in terms of its responsibility to the true aspirations of the majority in South Africa both as a political and education strategy.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter examined education in South Africa focusing on Black education which is at present undergoing a major crisis. A few critical points need to be raised. The key function of education is to prepare people for life, work and responsible citizenship. Unfortunately, the education system in South Africa does not match this as education is inextricably linked with the socio-political system. The crisis in Black education is therefore part of a wider social and political crisis and it would be incorrect to view educational reconstruction in isolation with the forces at work in society. The resistance to apartheid education by various stakeholders in a variety of ways, paves paths for 'people's education for people's power'. The important words which seem to characterize this chapter are: education, crisis, consultation, participation and empowerment.

Instead of the government responding positively to the obvious need for change, it continues to fall back on repressive and co-operative strategies that are designed solely to ensure the survival of power and privilege for the dominant white minority. There seems to be no apparent intention on the part of the government to address the fundamental matters of isolation, separateness, inferiority and lack of real say in decision-making which have been and are still central issues in education. The government continues to concentrate on the material benefits of education, 'the numbers and money-game', for example, more school buildings and better qualified teachers. The NECC on the other hand, wants the government to give control of the schools to the community claiming that 'education itself must rest in our hands and boycotts will be a thing of the past' (Sunday Times, 14 June 1986). Therefore, it is the aim of this chapter to assess the viability of community participation in educational provision.

Chapter 4 will trace the community initiatives and participation in education in case studies of two schools (Phambili and Thembalihle) which were established as a response to the educational crisis in the DFR. The form of community participation in the two schools will be analyzed in an attempt to abstract the general parameters of community participation in education.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN PRACTICE : PHAMBILI AND THEMBALIHLE-GOOD HOPE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a geo-historical review of the two schools selected as case studies (Phambili and Thembalihle-Good Hope). Community participation in practice will be examined to reflect the range of expressions of participation in the two communities and this may help give the concept more form and meaning.

The two case studies have not been chosen arbitrarily. Firstly, they provide appropriate examples of community educational initiatives with their contrast in urban and peri-urban environments in the DFR. Secondly, they offer adequate examples of the communities' determination to provide alternative schooling at a time of great socio-economic tensions and educational crisis in South Africa.

Durban's settlements are heterogeneous and are administered by different authorities and in the informal settlements, it is often ambiguous as to who has control over these (Beall *et al*, 1986). Fierce racial tensions have been evident and political rivalries continue to tear communities apart (Hughes, 1987). Yet some communities in the DFR have been drawn together on the aspect of education.

Taking this into consideration, some differentiation of the case studies according to local variations in the structures of political control and administration which directly influence education have been incorporated into the study. The emphasis of this study is on provision and expansion of education and less on innovation through improved curriculum.

To investigate both schools, information was gathered from newspaper reports, intensive interviews, schools' records, group discussion, schools' progress reports and government statistics relating to education and census data. Due to the highly politicized nature of both case studies, there are however some gaps in the information gathered. In order to protect the identity of the informants, codes are used and where necessary the names of the leaders are mentioned.

The first and second sections examine the geo-historical backgrounds of Phambili and Thembalihle respectively. The reasons for establishment, spatial location, finance, administration, staffing, students' admission criteria and problems incurred are dealt with in each case. The history of the schools is discussed in chronological order from the time of their establishment, the key actresses/actors involved, the motivations, intentions and rationales for the projects.

The spatial specificity of events for each school is analyzed within the broader context of the socio-economic, political and educational forces at play.

The third section compares and contrasts the two case studies against their spatial locational aspects as well as exploring the specific and general patterns of community participation which emerged. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations and potentials of community participation as evident from the two case studies.

4.2 THE GEO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF PHAMBILI

The need to address the high failure rate of Black matriculants in the Natal region brought about the idea of the Phambili project:

...to improve results at matric level so that more Blacks attain a pass rate which will enable them to enter university to further their studies. Thus programmes were initially for matriculants only; Standards 9 and 10 (Phambili Report, 1987/1988 p4).

The concept of a community school and administrative organizations was initiated in 1986 by Prof. Fatima Meer together with a number of interested people, mostly from the Institute of Black Research (IBR) and the Natal Education Organization (NEO)¹. The Phambili concept was developed along the lines of a community project to help Black pupils in the so-called 'difficult subjects' such as physical science, mathematics and biology (Informant A, 27 September 1990). The main objective initially, was to get funding for a mobile science unit which would be fully equipped with a laboratory, as well as qualified teachers, to be used for teaching both theory and practical application in the science subjects. It was planned that the Black schools in Natal would be organized into groups according to their accessibility to each other. The most accessible school for every region in Natal would then act as a centre or nucleus for the project. On particular days, the mobile science unit would visit the nucleus of each region thus providing assistance to the pupils from the schools in the region. This concept was viewed as an 'alternative system of education' on a regional level (Natal), given the persistent unrest and crisis in Black education since 1976 (Informant A, 27 September 1990).

¹ Prof. Fatima Meer, a sociologist, is the director of the IBR which was formed in 1974 and has its offices in the Department of Sociology, University of Natal, Durban. NEO was formed in 1985 as a sub-committee of the IBR.

However, the organizers dropped the idea of a mobile science unit because of the high costs that would have been involved in this project. Five to ten buses would have been required for the whole Natal region.

The organizers also did not want pupils to be involved in travelling, as such, the idea of a mobile science unit was discarded and it was motivated that a full-time school operating at a specific centre within and near Durban, be set up (Informant A, 27 September 1990). The school started as a Saturday tutorial programme which had its headquarters at the University of Natal, Durban, in the IBR's offices, with tutorial centres in Ndwedwe, Inanda, M L Sultan Technikon and at the University of Natal. The voluntary services of teachers especially from the Indian schools in Durban were secured as according to one Informant,

Unqualified and underqualified teachers in Black schools coupled with the differentiated system of education, all contribute to the poor quality of Black education. The poor competency of both teachers and pupils in English, which serves as a medium of instruction, contributes to the deterioration in the quality of Black education (Informant B, 27 September 1990).

The IBR and NEO nurtured the idea of a community school from 1986 to March 1987 when, through the financial assistance of the United States Agency for International Development (US AID), which donated an initial amount of R780 000, the tutorial scheme was initiated (Informant A, 27 September 1990). At the same time, in May 1987, the Hindu-Tamil Institute in Cross Street in central Durban, became vacant and the IBR and NEO, headed by Prof. Fatima Meer, used R300 000, of the US AID money to buy and renovate these buildings for use as a community school (Informant A, 27 September 1990).

Phambili opened as a formal school in June 1987 with a morning and an afternoon session and a Saturday tutorial scheme². The first students in the full-time school were largely from KwaMashu and Umlazi³. The school catered mostly for students victimized by the apartheid system, violence, poor learning environments, exclusion from schools in terms of the age exemption rule, and 'unwanted' elements who were termed 'comrades' (Informant B, 27 September 1990). The Phambili Report of (1987/1988, p14) reports that

Phambili continues to offer refuge to youth forced out of their homes and schools due to violence - mostly from Inkatha but some also from the UDF. An example is one pupil whose parents who were prominent Inkatha members, were allegedly killed by UDF youths and their houses burned to the ground. Eleven pupils from Hammarsdale and Botha's Hill alleged they were victims of Inkatha violence.

Essentially, Phambili operated as a private school relying mostly on US AID funds, ad hoc donations and school fees⁴.

-
- 2 *Over 450 pupils attended the morning session and more than 200, the afternoon session. The Saturday tutorials were based on voluntary attendance by Phambili full-time pupils and pupils from other schools nearby Durban (Informant B, 27 September 1990).*
 - 3 *The opening of Phambili (Cross Street) co-incided with the closure of schools in KwaMashu due to the continued disruptions and school boycotts in the township (Informant B, 27 September 1990).*
 - 4 *The Phambili Report for 1987/1988 notes that for 1987, money was collected from pupils as both school fees and examination fees. Phambili also received donations from the Islamic Propagation Centre (IPC), the First National Bank (FNB), the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, Shell, the Iranian and German Governments. In emergency circumstances, between 1986 and 1988, the IBK under Prof. Fatima Meer also lent Phambili money (Phambili Report, 1987/1988).*

According to the Phambili Report for 1987/1988, the US AID contributed mostly towards teachers' salaries, maintenance and office stationery, while the pupils had to pay for school books and stationery. Teachers did not receive nor contribute to fringe benefits like medical aid, pension fund and housing subsidy.

Since its inception as a private school, Phambili experienced problems in becoming registered as both a school and an examination centre by the DET. Because of the deplorable quality of education offered by the DET and that of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture (KDC), IBR and NEO decided that the school be registered under the Indian Education Department (Phambili Report, 1987/1988). Besides, the school is situated in what was an Indian Group Area and was originally an Indian school (Phambili Report, 1987/1988). An application to this effect was turned down on the grounds that the Indian Education Act of 1965 did not make any provision for a 'school of that character' to be registered as a private school (City Press, 13 August 1987)⁵.

An appeal to the KwaZulu Government to register the school was also turned down because of the geographical location of Phambili outside KwaZulu although it served pupils from this territory (Informant A, 27 September 1990). Apart from this, there was already tension between Prof. Fatima Meer and the KDC due to her unauthorised use of KwaZulu schools for the Saturdays' tutorial programme.

By the end of 1987, Phambili was still not a recognized examination centre or a registered school. Hence only Standard 9 internal examinations were conducted and matric candidates already at Phambili had to go back to their original schools in October 1987 for examinations (Phambili Report, 1987/1988)⁶. Those students who feared going back to their original schools, wrote their examinations at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), in Beatrice Street, Durban, which is a registered examination centre (Informant A, 27 September 1990)⁷.

As Phambili was not registered, there was an absence of an inspectorate to supervise and evaluate the standard of teaching. This gave the teachers more scope and initiative, but at the same time allowed for lethargy and laziness (Phambili Report, 1987/1988). The use of Heads of Departments or Supervisory Heads of Subject committees was proposed by Prof. Fatima Meer in order to co-ordinate and ensure effective teaching in each subject (Phambili Report, 1987/1988; Informant A, 27 September 1990). This would maintain uniformity in standard, method, content and pace. Although Phambili was not a registered school, it followed the DET curriculum by virtue of serving pupils that were examined by the DET (Phambili Report, 1987/1988).

The first year at Phambili was very successful and it was in the same year that a governing structure comprising both community and interest groups emerged (Informant B, 27 September 1990).

However, this governing structure did not have an SCR (Figure 4.1)

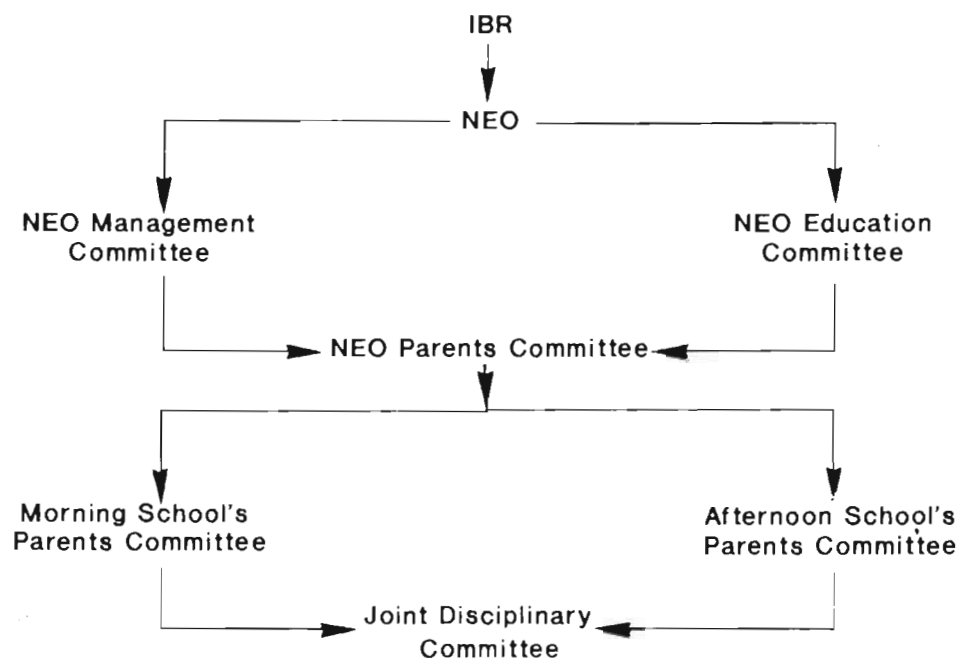
6 *The matriculants registered at other schools before enrolling at Phambili.*

7 *The school was forced to make urgent last minute arrangements for 83 pupils to write their 1987 examinations at an alternative venue following threats that their lives would be in danger in they attempted to write their examinations at their original centres of registration. It was only due to the last minute deliberations between Phambili officials, DET and the KwaZulu Government, that the pupils were able to write examinations at the YMCA.*

FIGURE 4.1:

THE GOVERNING STRUCTURE OF PHAMBILI - 1987

(SOURCE : PHAMBILI REPORT 1987/1988)



The first year at Phambili however, had its own problems. NEO was not affiliated to the UDF, NECC and neither did it entertain representation from other organizations with a belief that such affiliations would violate its autonomy⁸. This created tensions between Phambili and the rest of the progressive and community organizations like the UDF, NECC, the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), Natal Students Congress (NASCO) and the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA) (Phambili Report, 1987/1988). The progressive movements claimed that they were not consulted and that NEO's programmes did not reflect the community's interests. It was reported that

...progressive educationalists are trying to link up and work together while the NEO is working against this and going it alone (Sunday Tribune, 11 January 1987).

NEO, it was claimed, did not consist of bodies that dealt with education (Informant A, 27 September 1990). Some organizations felt that it was unacceptable for Phambili to receive money from the United States, or US AID in particular, amid calls from the progressive movements for sanctions against South Africa (Sunday Tribune, 11 January 1987). Consequently, the 'comrades' labelled Phambili as the 'Central Intelligence Agency School' (City Press, 20 September 1987). The stigma attached to Phambili, led to many serious problems and tensions within and outside the school⁹.

8 NEO's Management Committee was made up of Prof. Fatima Meer, Mrs Florence 'MAFLO' Mhize, Louis Skweyiga and other parents and teachers. The NEO Education Committee was made up of teachers only. Parents' committees consisted mostly of volunteers, but those on the disciplinary committee were chosen from the two parents' committees (Phambili Report, 1987).

9 Some students from Phambili were beaten by youths from Kwa Mashu for refusing to return to their township schools (Informant B, 27 September 1990). The attacks on Phambili students affected scholastic performance in that some students attended classes sporadically.

In addition to this problem, the KwaZulu Government could not tolerate Prof. Fatima Meer's use of their schools without permission for the Saturday tutorial programme. The Saturday tutorial programmes in the KwaZulu schools were terminated by the Ministry of the KDC¹⁰.

Phambili pupils faced serious transport problems. The Durban Transport Management Board (DTMB) voiced concern about the sudden influx of pupils travelling at peak hours at subsidized rates. It claimed that it had to transport workers during that time and would charge the pupils full adult rates at peak hours.

The DTMB refused to bus Phambili pupils during peak periods (Phambili Report, 1987/1988). This according to the Phambili Report (1987/1988) reduced attendance during the first lesson by a drastic 50%. The Town Clerk suggested to the school that they should apply for a travelling subsidy to the council and this was done late in 1987 (Informant A, 27 September 1990).

In 1988, the Phambili Project extended its school programmes to the YMCA (Informant A, 27 September 1990). Admission was based on an entrance test which was written at the Arya Pratindi Sabha Hall (APS) in Carlisle Street, in December 1987 and January 1988. Later, the entrance requirements were changed and school reports were used as a basis for entry due to the large number of students who wanted to be admitted (Phambili Report, 1987/1988; Informant A, 27 September 1990)¹¹. Upon realizing that most of the problems faced by the students in matric were a result of a poor educational foundation in their secondary schooling, Phambili introduced classes for Standards 7 and 8 to bridge the educational gap (Informant A, 27 September 1990).

10 *Statement from Douglas Zimu, the Secretary of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture (Weekly Mail, 31 July 1987).*

11 *At the end of May 1988, 3 044 pupils have been admitted.*

Due to increased pupil numbers, the APS Hall was also used to house Phambili's matric science pupils. The Phambili management decided to hold two afternoon and two morning schools with the afternoon school augmenting and extending its programme to Saturdays (Phambili Report, 1987/1988)¹².

The 1987 school's governing structure was carried over to 1988 with the addition of an SRC for each of the two sessions morning and afternoon schools (Figure 4.2).

An investigation of newspaper reports, progress reports and personal interviews revealed the following problems at Phambili:

4.2.1 School's Registration

A noteworthy observation for 1988 at Phambili was the intensity of the problems over the issue of the school's registration on the 26 January 1988 (Informant D, 30 September 1990). Matric students were worried about the time they would have wasted if Phambili was not registered. Students refused to attend classes and went on from one class to the other singing and forcing the other students out of their classrooms. Disciplinary measures were taken against these 'troublemakers' and this led to their expulsion. The other pupils however, demanded their unconditional re-admission and throughout the whole process, disrupted classes. The NEO management committee readmitted the students.

12

The timetable as follows:

Morning sessions : 08h00 - 14h15

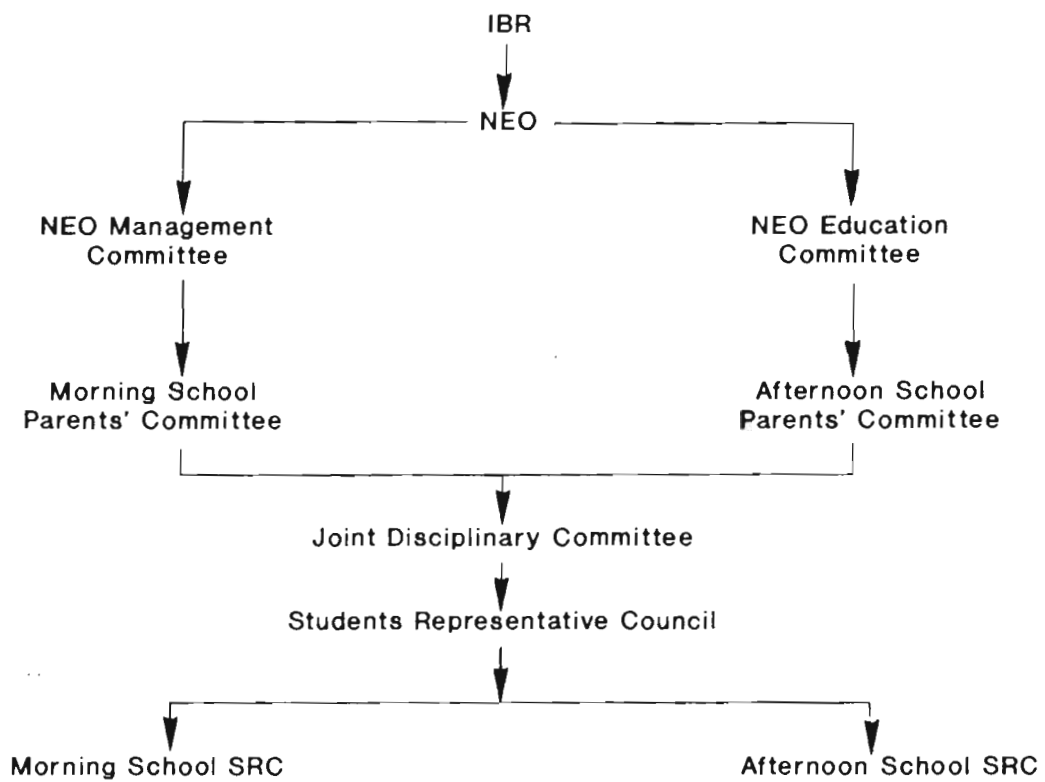
Afternoon sessions: 14h30 - 16h45

Saturdays : 08h00 - 14h30

The Saturday tutorials were held at the M L Sultan Technikon. The rest of the pupils were divided between Phambili School (Cross Street) and YMCA (Beatrice Street).

FIGURE 4.2:**PHAMBILI SCHOOL GOVERNING STRUCTURE**

(SOURCE : PHAMBILI REPORT 1987/1988)



The school was ultimately registered with the DET in March 1988. This registration only affords the students the right to sit for the Standard 10 examinations after payment of an examination fee.

DET does not provide textbooks, pay teachers' salaries or provide any subsidies. This however, brought a feeling of security among students in terms of the end of the year examinations.

4.2.2 Imbalances between the Number of Teachers and Pupils¹³

The high teacher-pupil ratio (1:100) led to problems of overcrowded classrooms and too few resources. The high pupil numbers was a direct result of admission of pupils at any time of the year. A resulting problem was combined classes where teachers had to teach two classes at the same time while pupils sat three to a desk. The increased pupil numbers also posed a disciplinary problem throughout 1988. NEO decided that for 1989, they would reduce enrolment by 75% to create manageable sized classes, with a total elimination of the afternoon school.

4.2.3 A Shortage of Textbooks and Stationery

Although pupils were asked to pay a fee of R60.00 per year for textbooks, by August 1988, they had not yet been given their full set of textbooks, and examinations were scheduled for October. Some textbooks were photocopied, reduced in size and were barely readable. Pupils who had paid their full fees but still did not have textbooks felt exploited. This situation led to the pupils and teachers sending a delegation to the American Ambassador in South Africa demanding a full-scale investigation into the educational, administrative and financial affairs of the school. The delegation claimed that there was mismanagement of the project which limited learning, resulted in school boycotts, theft, destructive behaviour, and considerable damage and loss of property. Due to students' destructive behaviour, both the facilities at the APS Hall and the YMCA were withdrawn.

Pupils demanded a full supply of textbooks or the return of their registration fees. Prof. Fatima Meer later expressed Phambili's position on the supply of books in a letter to the parents:

...the school, at no time undertook to supply all the book requirements of pupils. It was left to the teachers to ensure that all pupils had access to the necessary books and were given essential study guides. R60.00 could not purchase all the book requirements of a pupil (Phambili Report, 1987/1988 p135).

4.2.4 The Teaching-Learning Environment

The poor facilities of the YMCA and a shortage of desks resulted in the DET threatening to close the school down on account of unacceptable physical conditions¹⁴. At Phambili (Cross Street), the noise pollution from the buses and cars (traffic), also made effective teaching and attention very difficult¹⁵. The teachers suggested that the problems could be solved through the sale of redundant material that the school possesses, for example, television sets, the minibus and 19 computers so as to raise funds to focus on essential needs. Critics further suggested that in the long term, additional enrolment of students should be accompanied by proportional provision of furniture. NEO, however, reiterated that it could not improve the material conditions at the YMCA since it did not own the building.

On the question of pupil intake, NEO supported the teachers' viewpoint and promised to cut down the numbers in 1989 as it was clear that the problems experienced were fundamentally related to the excessive enrolment (Informants A and B, 27 September 1990).

14 *At the YMCA, eight classes were held in one hall, inadequately partitioned by boards. It became a question of using every available space to accommodate pupils or to limit pupil intake. There was no staffroom and no toilet facilities for teachers.*

15 *Phambili (Cross Street) is next to the bus depot and on the bus route to the Market in Warwick Avenue.*

4.2.5 Conditions of Employment

The teachers' conditions of employment were unsatisfactory as they felt threatened with dismissals at any time. An example was confirmed by teachers that the 'thrice-hired-and-fired principal', Roy Sham, had resigned after continual harassment (Sunday Times, 2 October 1988). The feeling of job insecurity and dissatisfaction led many teachers to take up employment opportunities offered by state education departments¹⁶. This put too much pressure on the remaining teachers' workloads and led to time-table changes which resulted in a lack of consistency for class schedules.

4.2.6 Problems with Headship

Prof. Fatima Meer was perceived as a 'dictator' by some pupils and teachers. She was also alleged to have threatened to fire some teachers as she saw them as having encouraged pupils to demonstrate and protest at the launch of her book on Nelson Mandela's biography, where Winnie Mandela and other dignitaries were present¹⁷. Prof. Fatima Meer, on the other hand, perceived this as a personal attack on her and thus closed the school temporarily in August 1988, allegedly as a way of punishing both the pupils and teachers (Financial Mail, 16 September 1988).

16 *Teachers were not happy with their salaries and some claimed that they were still owed money for teaching in the afternoons. They also demanded to know how their salaries were determined.*

17 *Contract teachers were to remain until the end of the year to manage examinations and marking. Temporary teachers not needed were dismissed.*

Pupils and teachers called for Prof. Fatima Meer's withdrawal from the school and proposed a school council or a new horizontal governing structure for Phambili wherein the role of the IBR would be greatly reduced (Figure 4.3). They however, opted for the IBR's chairperson or a nominee to preside at all future administrative meetings. The structure was proposed because most people at Phambili argued that the finance and management matters of the school were run by only Prof. Fatima Meer, and a very autocratic system existed. It was reported in the press that:

Even those close to the academic, blame her domineering personality and steamrolling style for many of the ills at the school, but also caution that it is Meer's highstanding international reputation which won the US finance and fear that it might dry up if she is forced to resign from the project (Financial Mail, 16 September 1988).

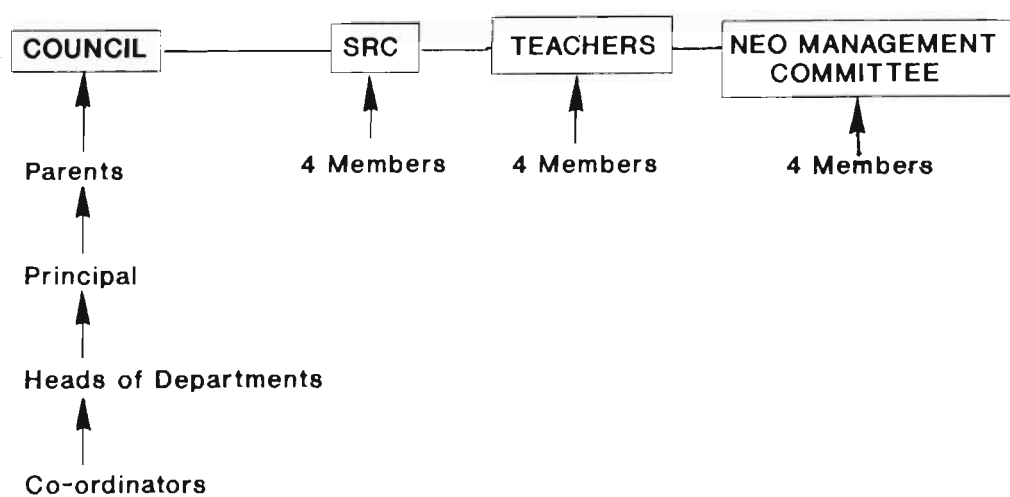
A motion of no confidence against Prof. Fatima Meer was passed at a meeting of parents, teachers and pupils wherein an Interim Committee consisting of six members was selected to investigate the organization and implementation of the new horizontal governing structure. The Interim Committee also accepted a mandate to take legal steps for the transfer of Phambili control to another structure (Phambili Report, 1987/1988). The IBR was prepared to hand over to another body with Prof. Fatima Meer emphasizing that she wanted to withdraw 'completely' from the school (Informant D, 30 September 1990).

4.2.7 Increasing Pupils' Power

The demands of pupils increased the tension within the school.

FIGURE 4.3:**PHAMBILI ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE**

(SOURCE : PHAMBILI REPORT, 1987/1988 p113)



They demanded that no decision should be taken without proper consultation with the SRC, teachers, parents, and the need for the executive members of the SRC to be present at all meetings concerning Phambili. Pupils complained of unsatisfactory teaching and also called for the abolishment of the school uniform. NEO was not prepared to have the SRC at all its meetings and this resulted in the pupils sometimes, disguising as parents so as to attend parents' meeting.

4.2.8 Criticism of Phambili by Prof. Fatima Meer

Phambili's problems as perceived by Prof. Fatima Meer emanated from the high rate of absenteeism among teachers who displayed a lack of commitment to the school. Teachers left Phambili any time they found alternative employment elsewhere, thus causing disruption to the time-table and pupils' learning progress. She also regarded the problems at Phambili as arising from the political dynamics of the country which placed Phambili in a difficult position (City Press, 20 September 1987; Phambili Report, 1987/1988). Phambili (Informant A, 27 September 1990) started to crumble because of personality and political problems. In October 1988 the IBR, US AID and Prof. Fatima Meer withdrew from the school and since then, Phambili has undergone changes in terms of management, funding and organizational structure. With the withdrawal of the major source of funds, Phambili's main problem since October 1988 has been that of fundraising. The Kagiso Trust has since allocated Phambili some bridging funds which are however not sufficient to meet all expenses (Phambili Report, January 1991).

4.3 THE SITUATION AT PHAMBILI IN 1991

The management of Phambili has learnt a lot from the past experiences and is doing its best to avoid or solve the past problems. The administrators of Phambili have managed to cut down students' numbers to 480 and increase book fees.

Work on the school's educational development policy for both staff and students has commenced, and possible ways to achieve these have been formulated (Informant E, 14 February 1991).

Phambili school continues to address the educational problems that have emerged and is trying to move away from

...a state-sponsored authoritarian system of education which ingrains notions of inferiority and insecurity in Black students, rather than developing the human and moral characters of the students (Phambili Application for Financial Support, 1991 p2).

The school receives some of its funds from the Kagiso Trust and parents contribute to the functioning of the school by paying school fees (Informant E, 14 February 1991)¹⁸. The school needs more money for its effective functioning, necessitating the involvement of both teachers and students in the fundraising process. As the school building belongs to the IBR, the school pays a sum of R30 000 in rent (Phambili Report, January 1991). Phambili school no longer runs any tutorial schemes and is concentrating on the full-time school project. The school has extended its initial admission criteria to include returning exiles and it is striving to be more than just a school for victims of apartheid (Phambili Report, January 1991; Informant E, 14 February 1991). It is also in the process of developing a more relevant and appropriate curriculum and educational approach, thus, trying to move away from the 'stale DET curriculum' (Informant F, 18 February 1991).

18

All funds from the European Community are channelled into South Africa through the Kagiso Trust whose headquarters are in Johannesburg. The Kagiso Trust contributes greatly to the payment of teachers' salaries. Each student pays a registration fee of R10,00 and Standards 8,9 and 10 contribute R125,00; R150,00 and R160,00 respectively per annum.

The restructuring in terms of administration and funding led Phambili to open up discussions with the community within the DFR, especially those that were initially hostile to its establishment. They also work closely with educational organizations and institutions, including the University of Natal, Durban; NECC; The Career Information Centre (CIC); SANSCO and the Sached Trust (Informant F, 18 February 1991). This is regarded as crucial as the school is not geographically situated within the Black community (Informant F, 18 February 1991). The change in the school's external administrative structure also necessitated a change within the internal structure. This is illustrated in Figure 4.4.

The school reports that:

with the structural and administrative aspect solidified, the members of the Phambili project are eager to implement any initiative that will mould this project into a model for a people's education for a future South Africa (Phambili Report, January/March 1991 p5)¹⁹.

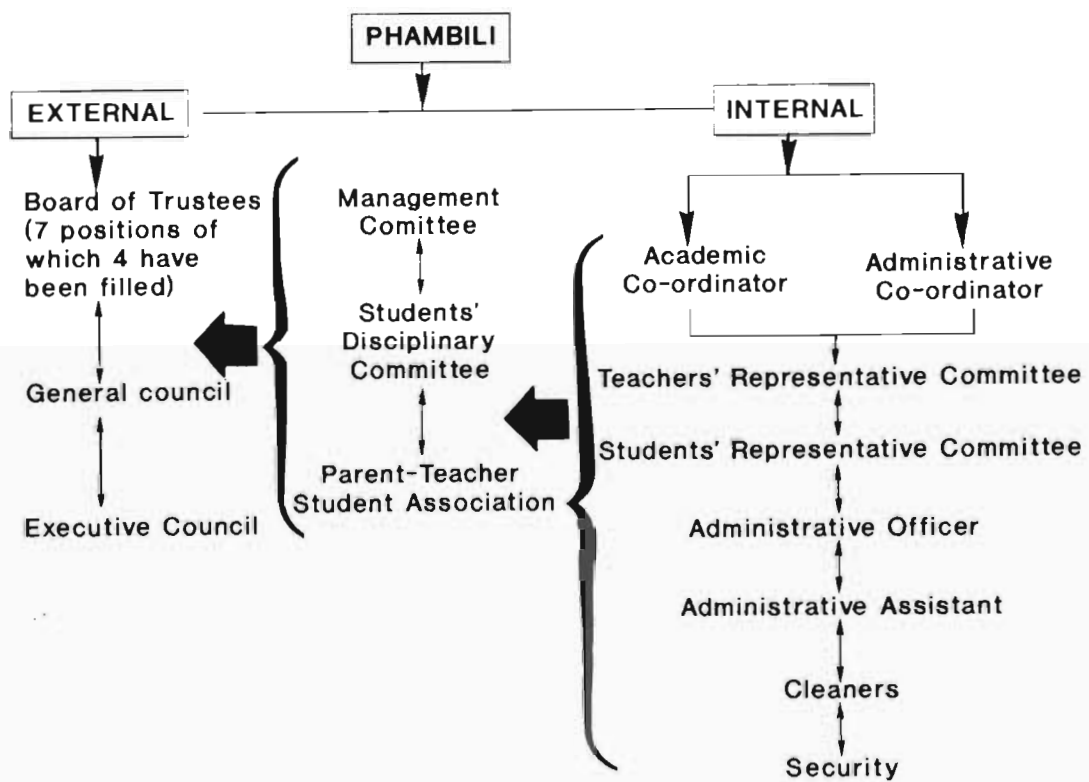
The school is, however, still faced with the problem of accommodation and it is currently seeking alternative premises due to a number of factors²⁰. For instance, the excessive traffic noise and pollution; the absence of certain crucial facilities such as playing fields; a need for a larger library, adequate laboratories, subject rooms and resource rooms.

19 *The school aims to work hard on its management and administration, the programme of studies, students' involvement and the relationship between the school and the community.*

20 *The recent report in the Weekly Mail, 22/28 January 1993, explains the nature of the problem.*

FIGURE 4.4:**PHAMBILI SCHOOL STRUCTURE AS AT 6 MAY 1991**

(SOURCE : PHAMBILI REPORT, JANUARY/MARCH 1991)



The administration was negotiating for more conducive premises in Mayville, and is also considering leasing one of the recently vacated white schools in Durban (Phambili Report, January/March 1991). Whereas Phambili is situated in central Durban away from the community it serves, the following discussion is about Thembalihle-Goodhope which was in a shack settlement.

4.4 THE GEO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THEMBALIHLE-GOODHOPE SCHOOL²¹

Thembalihle-Goodhope school was situated in the Inanda vicinity in what is referred to as the Released Area no. 33 in a place collectively known as Bambayi, after the first Indians who came to South Africa from Bombay to work on the sugar plantations²². Bambayi consists of the 3 hectare Phoenix settlement, which was bought by Mahatma Gandhi in 1904, and the immediate surrounding area (Informant 1, 23 April 1990). The Phoenix settlement was founded as a 'non-racial community committed to experimenting with 'satyagraha' in personal, social, economic and political spheres' (Informant 1, 23 April 1990)²³.

21 *The past tense is used in describing the school's background because it no longer exists.*

22 *Inanda is a huge peri-urban area on the north-western edge of Durban, about 25 km from the centre of Durban.*

23 *'satyagraha' - resistance movement to any form of oppression or discrimination.*

The Phoenix settlement consisted of The International Printing Press which published the newspaper 'Indian Opinion', the Mahatma Gandhi Museum and Library, the Mahatma Gandhi Health Clinic, the Kasturba Gandhi Primary School, and two other buildings known as '*Kasturbavahn*' and '*Shanti*' (Informant 1, 23 April 1990)²⁴. When Mahatma Gandhi left South Africa for India in 1914, he had already established the Phoenix Settlement Trust and handed his private property to the community (Informant 1, 23 April 1990).

The area surrounding the Phoenix settlement was occupied by people from Cato Manor, hostel dwellers, the Pondos, Umlazi and other areas as tenants to the Indian landlords, thus evolving as an informal settlement²⁵. This area was inhabited by Africans and Indians who co-existed peacefully for generations up until 1985 (Byerley, 1989). Inanda thus became a viable location for workers and work-seekers and for those Africans who either did not qualify for or did not want to settle in KwaMashu (Hughes, 1987).

Following the assassination of Victoria Mxenge, pupils boycotted schools in most of Durban's townships and the conflict spread to the nearby informal settlements (Hughes, 1987 p39)²⁶. The unemployed and thugs exploited the situation further resulting in the looting and burning of shops and government buildings.

-
- 24 a) *Kasturba - Mahatma Gandhi's wife.*
 b) *Kasturbavahn - was the house built and lived in by Manilal Gandhi and his family*
 c) *Manilal Gandhi - Mahatma Gandhi's son*
 d) *Shanti - was built by the Girl Guide movement.*

- 25 *The immediate area surrounding the Phoenix settlement belonged to Indians who had bought some plots and thus were able to offer others a place to live.*

- 26 *Victoria Mxenge was a Human Rights lawyer, UDF member and wife of the also assassinated Griffiths Mxenge.*

In Inanda this included harassment of Indian shopkeepers and looting of their businesses, clinics and homes (Byerley, 1989). The Gandhi Phoenix settlement - 'a shrine of peace', was also gutted and ransacked (Sitas, 1986)²⁷. The extent of the violence is graphically described by Sitas (1986, p85), in that:

The carnage in Durban's townships in August 1985 left behind the burnt-out shells of shopping centres, the ashes of local government buildings, the gutted and looted houses, 75 deaths and over 1 000 injuries, the racial animosities and social traumas, and a burning uncertainty over the future of the area.

As a result, Indian residents began to fear for their safety and a mass exodus occurred. 'Africanisation' of Bambayi was further entrenched through a wave of violence on Indians permitting Africans from all over Natal to move into Bambayi. Bambayi became a refugee camp with a generally fractured community, with fracture lines occurring between Zulus and Pondos, Xhosas and Zulus, Xhosas and Pondos, and between Inkatha and UDF-cum-ANC (Informant 1, 23 April 1990).

In 1990 there were approximately 8 000 informal settlers on the Phoenix settlement property, and about 12 000 in the area bordering on the settlement (Informant 1, 23 April 1990). The community needs water (taps), sanitation, schools, roads, that is, necessities for daily living. There is a conflict between the central government, the Phoenix settlement Trust and the KwaZulu government as to who should provide these basic facilities (Informant 2, 23 April 1990).

Despite all the above-mentioned factors, the community however, independently established Thembalihle-Good Hope School.

4.4.1 The School

The conflict between the Phoenix settlement Trustees and the government as to who should provide the basic necessities in Bambayi seemed to be a strong uniting force among the parents (Informant 2, 23 April 1990). The unity was demonstrated when the parents established their own 'school'. The 'school' was started out of frustration among parents that if their children did not receive education, they would in future be subjected to the same political and economic frustrations and *cul-de-sacs* that they find themselves in (Informants 3,4,5 and 6, 23 April 1990).

Most parents are employed as domestic workers and labourers, with a few who are teachers, nurses, clerks and policemen (Informant 1, 23 April 1990). The larger proportion, is employed in the informal sector whilst the rest are unemployed. However, they are all desperate to offer their children education (Informant 4, 23 April 1990).

In 1984, after several meetings within the community, led by Mr Mzobe, the school was established in a beerhall in the nearby Newfarm, popularly known as 'skomplaas' (Informants 3 and 4, 23 April 1990)²⁸. The parents elected a school committee to deal directly with school matters.

Mr Mzobe, the chairman of the school committee, was unfortunately killed on 2 November 1990, a day before I was to interview him. The decision and initiative to establish the school was the brainchild of parents under the leadership of Mr Mzobe.

By early 1986, the numbers were too large for the beerhall and the school was moved to a place under the trees next to the clinic on the Phoenix settlement (Informant 4, 23 April 1990). In May 1986, due to the unfavourable winter conditions, the parents requested the Phoenix settlement Trustees for the school to make use of the museum ruins for shelter. Written permission was granted because the Phoenix settlement Trustees saw the school as saving the museum and the Printing Press ruins from being used as toilets (Informant 1, 23 April 1990). They also allowed the pupils to use the surrounding areas comprising of the late Mahatma Gandhi's house ruins and the old Indian school ruins as playgrounds (Informant 4, 23 April 1990). At this stage the situation at Thembalihle could be described as follows:

the grounds are littered with rusty car bodies, broken glass, rocks and the debris produced by a community with no water disposal, sewage, water or electricity facilities. Mud, sticks and corrugated iron shacks jostle for space with the original building which are no more than windowless, empty hulks spattered with graffiti (Herald, 12 August 1990 p4).

Conditions at Thembalihle were worse than those found in an ordinary DET school as described in chapter 3. Everything was at its worst. For instance, no proper buildings, no furniture and no materials. Teachers used dilapidated tables and desks whilst the pupils, mostly the sub-Standards A and B sat on the floor and on piles of bricks and tins inside the dusty classrooms. Chalkboards were a luxury at this school as teachers used pieces of chalkboards and in some cases resorted to the walls. In one classroom, a piece of chalkboard was placed on a high drum inside a hall shared by two classes. Most classrooms had no windows nor doors.

They had been stolen in 1985 during the Inanda riots (Informants 3 and 4, 23 April 1990)²⁹.

29 *One of the classrooms in the old Printing Press building shared by sub-Standards A and B, had been termed 'Robben Island' because it became the worst flooded during the rainy season.*

The school's finances were drawn from the parents' contributions towards school fees, as shown in Figure 4.5 (Informant 3, 23 April 1990).

Parents had to contribute a certain initial amount at the beginning of the year, and the balance paid in monthly installments. Out of these monies, the parents paid teachers' salaries, bought chalk, cleaning materials, chalkboards and preparation books for teachers. In addition to financial contributions, the parents provided labour for the roofing of the old Printing Press building (Informant 3, 23 April 1990). The parents also bought books and school uniforms for their children. The school received no recognition or financial assistance from any provincial school authority (Informant 4, 23 April 1990). Towards the end of 1988, the St Johns Ambulance adopted the school and contributed towards the building of pit toilets (Informant 4, 23 April 1990). They also supplied the children daily with bread, jam, peanut butter and soup during lunch time.

The decisions regarding proper schoolwork were left to the staff's discretion as most of the parents are illiterate, and not able to supervise their children's schoolwork (Informant 5, 23 April 1990). Despite this, a few of the literate parents felt that Thembalihle was far better than some of the state or government schools (Informant 4, 23 April 1990).

The school hosted sub-Standard A to Standard 5 and by 1990, had a roll of 1 184 pupils, 14 unqualified teachers and three qualified but retired teachers, one of whom was the principal (Informant 3, 23 April 1990; Herald, 12 August 1990). The teacher-pupil ratio was 1:70. Most of the teachers had matriculation certificates and the rest had passed only Standard 8 (Informant 3, 23 April 1990). The teachers were employed by the principal and the school committee and their salaries ranged between R80.00 and R250.00 per month (Informants 3 and 4, 23 April 1990). Teachers received no fringe benefits, and they sometimes even went for months without salaries (Informants 3 and 4, 23 April 1990). One teacher stated:

FIGURE 4.5:

**PARENTS' ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD THE SCHOOL FUND AT
THEMBALIHLE (1986 - 1990)**

(SOURCE : INFORMANT 3, 23 APRIL 1990)

STANDARD	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
A	R24	R38	R38	R38	R38
B	R30	R40	R40	R40	R40
1	R30	R40	R40	R42	R44
2	R30	R40	R40	R42	R44
3	R30	R40	R40	R44	R46
4	R30	R40	R40	R44	R46
5	none	none	none	R46	R48

Dedication and the will to educate our children is what has kept us here, but for how long we do not know. Some teachers leave after a month or two because of not receiving salaries (Informant 7, 23 April 1990).

Even though the school was not registered, the teachers followed the DET curriculum and syllabus (Informant 3, 23 April 1990). These were obtained from friends teaching at nearby government schools. The principal and staff also took advantage of any form of refresher courses offered by the KDC. It was easier for the teachers to attend these courses without being recognized due to the large numbers of teachers employed by this department (Informant 3, 23 April 1990). They were however, reminded not to sign any documents circulated at these workshops.

The principal and the other two retired teachers on the Thembalihle staff, by virtue of having been strong Natal Association of Teachers' Union (NATU) members prior to their retirement, managed to get Thembalihle pupils to participate in the sports and cultural activities arranged by NATU (Informant 2, 23 April 1990).

Although Thembalihle school followed the rules and regulations set down by the DET, it rejected the age restriction rule which had led to most of the school boycotts countrywide (Informant 2, 23 April 1990).

The school admitted children from the age of five years upwards. The school further allowed pupils who had no money at registration to attend classes (Informant 2, 23 April 1990). They worked according to the belief that given enough time, the parents would be able to afford anything that the school required (Informant 2, 23 April 1990). This admission policy drew students from as far as KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Inanda, most of whom had been for one reason or another, rejected by state schools (Informant 7, 23 April 1990). The principal was, however, accused and highly criticized by most schools for admitting 'anybody', and to this she said:

If I knew the dustbin wherein I should throw these children you refer to as 'rubbish or useless', I would gladly throw them. Unfortunately, no human being is a rubbish (Mrs J Mngadi, 18 May 1990).

The pupils, on the other hand, were also very educationally motivated. They played their part by attending school and during general school boycotts in the DFR, they never missed a day. The children themselves were heard saying:

Why should we join? Not us, because we are not fighting with anybody because no one recognizes us. The books and everything belong to us and our parents (Informant 7, 23 April 1990).

Thembalihle school did not however operate without problems. The school, since its inception in 1984, experienced major problems ranging from finance, accommodation, to lack of recognition, which finally led to its closure in 1990. The dominant problems that emerged from this research are discussed below.

4.5 PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED AT THEMBALIHLE SCHOOL

4.5.1 Lack of Recognition by the DET

Most educationalists, together with the DET, did not accept or recognize Thembalihle as a proper formal school (Informant 8, 28 July 1990). The school had been labelled 'informal' a 'day care centre' and a 'crazy school' by those who did not understand the importance of the circumstances under which it was initiated (Informant 3, 23 April 1990). Surprisingly, pupils from Thembalihle were never turned away from other schools if they wanted to further their studies elsewhere (Mrs J Mngadi, 18 May 1990). One occasionally found one or two principals that rejected them, but on recognizing Thembalihle principal's name as a strong member of NATU, admitted the pupils (Informant 3, 23 April 1990).

4.5.2 The Socio-Economic Environment Prevalent in Bambayi

Parents and pupils had to contend with poor health and housing conditions in Bambayi. Limited employment opportunities militated against good health and the provision of clean water had been the single most important problem which also seriously affected the school. As most parents are unemployed, their children's schooling suffered, as they could not afford the educational expenses. This also put teachers at a risk of sometimes not receiving their monthly salaries.

4.5.3 Lack of Qualified Teachers

The fact that the school was not registered with DET, meant that the community had to pay teachers' salaries. It was difficult for the school to get qualified teachers as the community could not afford to raise money for their services. Thembalihle school relied on the available students who had passed Standard 8 or matric even though they were not qualified.

The inadequately educated teachers coupled with the fact that most parents were illiterate, made it impossible for the curriculum offered at Thembalihle school to be developed and adapted to the local needs (Informant 10, 12 August 1990). The teachers, in other words, had nothing more to offer to the pupils which is not offered in other schools.

4.5.4 The Unfavourable Physical Conditions in and Around the School

The School was housed in the ruins of Mahatma Gandhi's property which have been invaded by informal settlements with their problems of lack of sanitation or proper structures for the removal of waste. This posed a health hazard to the pupils and teachers and rendered the school and its surrounding littered area, a dangerous place to play around (Informant 7, 13 May 1990). The lack of proper partitions between different classes in the buildings weakened effective teaching as the noise was unbearable (Mrs J Mngadi, 18 May 1990).

During unfavourable weather conditions, the floor became too cold for the pupils or the classes flooded and they could not write or sit on them (Informant 3, 23 April 1990).

4.5.5 Difficulties in Registration Eventually Led to the School's Closure.

Even though representations were made to the DET to register the school, they were refused on the basis that the school was on Trust land and they had no right to register the school unless the Trustees agreed (Informant 3, 23 April 1990). When the Board of Trustees was approached, they replied by saying that they have no intention to start a formal school as it was expensive to run (Informants 3 and 4, 23 April 1990). The whole issue as perceived by the teachers revolved around the land tenure question. The Trustees on the other hand felt that by allowing the school to continue, they would indirectly be legitimizing the squatters' occupancy of the Phoenix settlement (Informant 10, 12 August 1990).

The Health Officers who inspected the school further objected to its registration unless major costly renovations were made to the buildings (Informant 1, 19 July 1990)³⁰. With no-one being able to take responsibility for the renovations, the DET made an offer to the Bambayi community to close down the school and move the pupils to the new double storey school next to Bambayi. The other half was to be accommodated in the then empty primary school across the main Inanda Road in Newtown (Informant 8, 28 July 1990)³¹.

30 *Health Officers had in fact long declared the place/school a health hazard and warned the principal and community to discontinue using the ruins (Informant 1, 19 July 1990).*

31 *The young children were now faced with the issue of having to cross the busy and dangerous Inanda Road to attend school in Newtown.*

The DET official, who was present at the general parents' meeting on 30 May 1990, promised free books and agreed to admit Thembalihle pupils into the two schools regardless of age, birth certificate, reports or transfer forms (Informants 3,4 and 7, 30 July 1990). He further emphasized that the DET's offer was the last chance to admit the pupils from Thembalihle and the offer expired at the beginning of the third term of 1990 (Informant 3, 30 July 1990). The school was finally closed on 1 August 1990 for the Standards 1 to 5, and on 2 October 1990 for sub-Standards A and B (Informant 3, 9 October 1990).

The principal was however, not bitter about this and she felt that everything had been put to the parents to decide and she respected their decisions (Mrs J Mngadi, 9 October 1990). Mngadi felt that the pupils definitely needed to experience a new schooling life in better surroundings and also that it was about time for the parents to engage in the realities of Black education in South Africa (Informant 3, 9 October 1990).

At the time of the schools' closure, the Phoenix settlement Trustees had obtained overseas funds to reconstruct and transform the Phoenix settlement so as to create physical and social structures that would improve the quality of life of the residents (Phoenix settlement Working Paper, 1990; Informant 10, 12 August 1990). This is aimed to be a reflection of the basic philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi that of '*sarvodaya*' - welfare for all (Herald, 12 August 1990), and that:

In the process of development, every effort will be made to utilize local labour, and develop local technical and management skills (Phoenix settlement Working Paper, 1990 p5)

4.6 COMPARISON OF PHAMBILI AND THEMBALIHLE AS CASE STUDIES OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

The two schools provide us with examples of education *coup d'états* on the part of the communities in a bid to save their children's education. Each school was established in a different way, but somehow experienced the same major problems. Section 4.6 of this chapter is an analysis and critique of the two case studies, examining their differences and similarities against the major problems faced in Black education in South Africa.

The two case studies give some important insights into the conditions of schooling within the context of violence in Natal in the 1980's. These case studies highlight the relationship between students and teachers, students and political organizations, the school and parents as well as the school education authorities. The most important characteristic of the two schools is their urgency in devising methods of providing alternative education for students, displaced mostly by the conflict in the DFR and Natal as a whole.

The following general and comparative points can be discerned in relation to the role of the community, land tenure, authority in schools, SRC's, fundraising, the role of the leader, the teacher/parent roles, the schools physical conditions, teachers' qualifications and the DET's role.

Both schools were established as community projects, but 'community' has different meanings in terms of the placing and periodisation of the schools. Phambili came about through a remarkable combination of circumstances which had begun making it fashionable for academics and educationists to develop and establish alternative schooling programmes. The conflict situation in the DFR was transferred to the school, and highlighted potential divisions and tensions within the progressive movement. The fact that it is near the city centre, spatially removed from the points and areas of conflict in the townships, does not make it conflict-free.

Pupils carried over the demands labelled against DET to Phambili school so that although it was not a DET school, it however experienced most of the problems related to DET schools. The teachers also had their grievances and the parents who never knew what part to play in the school contributed to the problems.

The leaders who started and raised funds for Phambili were not from the disadvantaged communities and were thus alienated from the community or society they served. The location of Phambili out of its living communities actually broke its ties with the much needed community base and for a school to succeed, it has to be seen as being part of a community. Its founders might have underestimated this important value, and as such, the support they needed from parents was minimal.

Thembalihle school on the other hand portrays a self-liberated community in a context of rapid socio-economic and political change. Although it was situated in a shack/squatter settlement, in an area of great conflict and tension between Inkatha and UDF, several of the problems experienced by Phambili never manifested themselves in Thembalihle.

The parents' goodwill, co-operation, sacrifice and dedication to provide some form of basic primary education to their children had been essential in order to achieve some satisfactory balance between access to education and the cost-effectiveness of it. This indeed promotes positive attitudes toward the tackling of the peri-urban or squatter settlement schooling problems. The vulnerability of the Bambayi community, due to their lack of security on land tenure, re-enforced the landowners' control over the education of their children. Perhaps the major problem identified in the Thembalihle school was that of control and provision of schools on privately owned land invaded by squatters. On this land there is no state policy to provide schools. Provision is left entirely up to the landowner, and s/he is not compelled to provide any form of schooling for the children.

In the case of Thembalihle school, the DET was sympathetic towards the community in that it did not only close the school, but also made a discernable attempt to provide alternate schooling for the children in the neighbourhood. To some people, the DET's move was interpreted as an action to satisfy its own interests of filling up the nearly empty nearby DET schools, and also to provide work for the teachers who were on the brink of retrenchment (Informant 7, 12 August 1990). A high number of children in squatter settlements where there are no schools nearby have no where to go to. Both the DET and the Phoenix settlement Trustees could have seized the opportunity and used Thembalihle school as an example of how to tackle the schooling problem in squatter settlements.

People's education or people's school does not mean no authority, in fact it means more control and stricter measures collectively from parents, teachers and pupils themselves. Therefore, students' primary aim in the classrooms is to learn and not to take over control of schools even though they are given a platform through the SRC.

The most striking facet of Phambili school was the SRC. Although people's education continually stresses the importance of student representation in decision-making processes, Phambili school provides an example of how an SRC's actions can lead to the downfall of a school. To give students an unlimited say in the school structure is however impracticable. The SRC is on the other hand, an indispensable part of people's education as the school affects the pupils the most and they should therefore be able to influence decisions which would ultimately affect them. It is therefore essential for educationists, school administrators, teachers, parents and pupils to jointly formulate constitutions defining the powers and rights of the SRC's.

Thembalihle on the other hand, progressed well because of the absence of an SRC. In fact, just like in government or state primary schools in South Africa, there seems to be no SRC's at these levels. One could argue that the quality of pupils at Thembalihle school was that of those who have not yet reached the level of critical awareness of the socio-political climate in South Africa. These pupils were still more dependent on parents' choices and decisions. The reason for the apparent normality, or lack of pupil activism might also be attributed to the community's involvement in the school. Thembalihle was a prime example of how the present education structure could work if the schools were given over to the community. Kemp (1989) suggests that the government has a moral obligation towards handing over schools to the community as many Black schools were previously paid for by the communities themselves through the former 'loan-levy' system.

It would also be advantageous for the government to hand over schools as it would result in the depoliticisation of the schooling system (Kemp, 1989). This is however riddled with conflict and tension between the government and the various stakeholders.

This position should, however, not be misconstrued as a call for the depoliticisation of the educational crisis, but that such a struggle must not be reduced to partisan constraints only. The right to learn should not be confused with the desire by parties to govern, and thus it is the contention here that any strategy to transform education anywhere, allows an examination of the educational problems and strategies in a wider socio-political context. This calls for unity and tolerance at all costs in a bid to promote education.

Another important point which the two cases studies brought up was that of foreign funding. From the initial conception of Phambili school, many UDF affiliated student and community organizations were against the school as it was funded by a 'foreign imperialist' state.

No matter how irrational it might seem, certain black organizations will veto schooling initiatives funded by foreign tainted money as they identify any capitalist country with their apartheid experience. Phambili's reliance on external funding reveals the difficulties and contradictions in setting up alternative ways of providing schools. One major tension in such ventures is a tendency to substitute the effort to engage the state in the provision of schooling.

Most people on the other hand, are inadequately equipped to undertake and sustain such projects. It is doubtful whether Phambili will ever reach the self-reliance or self-sufficiency level as educational work is not profit making, presupposing continuous dependence on grants. When Prof. Fatima Meer withdrew from the School, US AID also withdrew their grant. The influence of strong individuals to secure foreign funds for projects is clearly demonstrated and the question is whether they are driven by community involvement, cash or status rewards for their invested energies.

Charismatic leaders, despite their good intentions, may destroy the people's collective participation in much needed projects.

Community participation requires an involvement and commitment from both the government and the people with regards to the finances. Affordability of the proposed project should be discussed beforehand. Thembalihle school was a self-supporting initiative run by parents, but because the community wherein the school was based is generally very poor, the project could not afford the physical and financial resources needed.

Another problem to be overcome in the two case studies is that of the relationship between the teacher and the parent as they should be working as a team to educate the pupils. Illiterate parents often have faith that education will enable their children to achieve things in life which fate has denied them, but have no faith in the contribution that they themselves can make to the process.

They therefore abdicate all responsibility for education to the 'expert' and deny the worth of a lifetime of experience and received wisdom. Restoring self-respect to adults socialized into servility and contempt for their cultural heritage, even for themselves is an immense task, potentially made even greater by the political tensions and violence across the country. On the other hand, the extent of parents' involvement seems in part related to the school itself. Through the commitment and dedication of teachers, parents may be guided in various ways in which they may contribute.

Both schools experienced material deprivation. In Thembalihle, classrooms were temporary run-down structures, overcrowded with two or three grades often combined in one classroom.

The teacher-pupil ratio was high in both schools and there were hardly any educational facilities at Thembalihle. Phambili school was at an advantage in that at least it had such facilities. The problem is that for both schools there are no play-grounds and at Phambili the excessive noise pollution due to its location opposite the DTMB bus depot, creates an educationally unconducive atmosphere.

The problem of unqualified, self-taught teachers who earned a small salary was common in both schools although it was made more explicit in Phambili where pupils complained of underqualified teachers. Thembalihle staff was mostly made up of people who did not have formal qualifications but who were recognized as teachers by the community. This does not necessarily mean that there is a shortage of teachers - but teachers generally prefer to work in a stable community, free of tensions, unrest and violence which are features of many informal settlements in the DFR. In terms of Phambili, the lack of security of tenure and attractive job benefits for those who are qualified, might have demotivated good professionals to take up jobs at the school. Such a situation opens a loop-hole for any unemployed or unemployable graduate or person to secure a job 'cashing-in' on the school's or education crisis.

The two community self-initiated schools inevitably suffered problems of registration and recognition by both the DET and other existing official schools. In both case studies, the state's power over provision of services and control over them is echoed. The fact that Phambili's matric candidates and the pupils at large, were doomed without the school's registration as an examination centre with DET; and Thembalihle's closure due to alleged risks to pupil's health and re-zoning of property and land to the Phoenix settlement Trust; are a clear example of the repressive power of the state. DET's call for community involvement in education (SABC commentary, Director of Education, 12 September 1990), and to what extent they actually need it, is still not understood.

4.7. **CONCLUSION**

The extent to which community participation in education is to occur, seems to be determined by the view of participation held by those in authority, the nature of the particular issue involved, the characteristics of the affected community, the scale and stage of development, the methods employed and available resources. On the one hand, to initiate and maintain successful participatory exercises, one has to understand the social, economic and political forces which are brought to bear on a community, and on the other hand, to be familiar with the methods of participation. Having outlined the problems of community participation in the two case studies, it is important now to look at how best this process can be democratized to suit the specificity of the DFR. Furthermore ways/parameters of community participation which can be used nationally but still be flexible for each specific locality are suggested.

While identifying trends and issues over time and space in the two case studies is important, these pursuits should not obscure the main theme of the study; that of assessing the sensitivity of community participation to space. Understanding the processes which promote community participation, and the conditions under which it occurs, are more worthy objectives of this research.

The 'field-dependency' of the participatory approach warrants that communities should not disregard the interplay of the socio-political and economic forces binding a particular locality. The following chapter will draw on these processes as discussed in chapter 2 and dealt with the concept of 'peoples education' in chapter 3, to suggest elements for community participation which would be spatially sensitive.

CHAPTER 5

AN EVALUATION OF THE TWO CASE STUDIES - TOWARDS A MODEL FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The work of two community initiated schools is viewed and analyzed from the perspective of the community participation approach to development. The intention is to assess the processes undergone by communities in their attempts to provide an alternative, grassroots approach to the provision and delivery of education when and where education is needed.

The study's concern is with space, time and process as internally-related aspects. The focus as emphasized earlier is on place, on difference, on distinctiveness, on uniqueness. The concern is to understand how community participation in education comes to be and how it gains its particular character based on localities. In searching for an explanation of the different forms of community participation experienced in the two schools, it is important to note that each of the schools/community concerned exhibits a high level of local specific social relationships.

The research problem offers the opportunity to assess the influence of locality-based structures and the interests of the key actors that are represented in resolving the educational or schooling crisis in the DFR; resolutions that are often at odds with those of the state. People's activities are influenced by their contexts (socio-economic, historical and political), and people in turn have the ability to change their environments, so that the difference that space makes is never entirely constant (Harvey, 1985).

This renders a need for spatial sensitivity in the use of the community participation strategies.

The study attempts to investigate two schools in the DFR implementing the participatory approach to development, with a view of extracting the general and specific parameters of how the schools were established. The key issues confronting the case studies, the processes and dynamics within them, the environments which facilitated or constrained their development; and the key actors are further investigated. Whether community participation as experienced here may be applied in other areas will also be examined.

In an attempt to achieve the objects of bringing forward an understanding of community participation and its use in education, this chapter aims to highlight the emergent trends in the two case studies and to suggest the possible implication of these trends for community participation in the provision of education. This necessitates a return to the theory on community participation and people's education.

In addition an important theme of this chapter and the whole study, is to show that 'space speaks' and it is at this point that geographers can make an important contribution to the understanding of community participation in education (Ardener, 1981). The evaluative tools drawn from the theory are discussed.

Community participation is a process rooted in people's evolving experiences, occurs bottom-up based on local initiative and is field-dependent (Chambers, 1983; Ekanayake, 1990). A community's interest, co-operation, sustainability and accountability form integral parts of the participation process (Paul, 1987). People's standard of living (financially, skills-wise and educationally), is important because as beneficiaries, they have to influence the direction and execution of development projects (Paul, 1987).

As participation implies decentralization and empowerment, it is basically linked to the historico-political process responsible for the allocation and distribution of resources (Turton, 1987).

The process therefore calls for a critical consciousness among the people of their own situation, who would then take action according to their needs, time and place (Turton, 1987). Experts or government staff are needed in an advisory and supportive capacity and not to derail or manipulate the participation process for their own interests (Lund, 1987).

People's education, as with community participation, is a process which is unfolding in South Africa. Emphasis is on localized initiatives to serve and allow as many people to participate in its formulation. People's control over the management and content of education for a transformation of the shortcomings in the Black education system is advocated (Soobrayan, 1989).

Experts' knowledge, according to Morrow (1990), should be linked to popular aspirations flowing from the grassroots. Mkhathswa (1985) further emphasizes that although people's education aims to serve the majority of people for empowerment and eradication of illiteracy, consideration of the functionality of the limited skills that can be acquired through the present education system is necessary.

Both community participation and people's education put value on locality, acknowledging the specificity of place. This allows for a collective identity on the part of the community with a particular shared locality and the creation of spatially sensitive participation strategies (Harvey, 1985; Pillay, 1990). However, people's definition and values of a place are often in conflict with that of the state (Pillay, 1990).

Community participation as demonstrated by the two schools seems to be influenced by a variety of interlinked factors. These will be discussed in relation to the evaluative tools drawn from the theory. Where possible, a list of factors standing on their own, will be provided. However, as a discussion of one presupposes a discussion of the other, these factors may in some instances be treated inclusively. The connecting concepts are decentralization, locality, empowerment, and grassroots.

5.1.1 The Socio-Economic and Political Characteristics of the People/Community

As participation presupposes decentralization of some sort, the socio-economic and political well being of the community cannot be overemphasized (Goulet, 1979 as cited in Dewar *et al*, 1986). This is considered important as the whole success of a project depends on the people's ability to sustain it. A variety of interlinked factors is implied. For instance, the availability of resources (land and finance), the community's educational level, existing organisational structures and leadership.

The development of a community's sense of one-ness and self-reliance depends very much on how individual members of the community perceive themselves (SACBC, 1989). An indicator of success of a project might in fact be that the 'lowest of the low' in the community's social scale not only participate, but begins to exercise initiative as in Thembalihle school. It is at that level of the individual who is most handicapped by an internalized sense of powerlessness and low self-esteem, and not among the more articulate, that the core of the problem of community participation is confronted (Chambers, 1983).

At this point, one should however not overlook the role of representation in community participation (Cox and Cox, 1971). Although it has played a critical role in the establishment of Phambili school, this should not be viewed as an end in itself.

Realizing that participation is a process, representation would be beneficial if it ultimately evolves to engulf the excluded for project continuity and sustainability (Paul, 1987).

Without a change in that self-perception of the ordinary person in the community, there is a serious question whether a project initiated by local leadership would continue to exist when such leadership is withdrawn (Dewar *et al*, 1986). People's education as a process of transforming the education system in an empowering way, calls for experts or representatives to be sensitive as to how they facilitate the process (Mkhatshwa, 1985; Morrow, 1990).

More people need to be involved in different situations and given a chance at different roles so that they might both be perceived and perceive themselves increasingly as effective contributors to the common good. By creating participatory opportunities, both the project leaders and the community are able to discover new capabilities and potentialities among average and poorer members of the community, and are empowered (Dewar *et al*, 1986). This in itself depends on the quality of local leadership which is important for people's participation (Cox and Cox, 1971). Leaders operate with the strength of the community, within and about them and are therefore also accountable to the people (D'Aeth, 1975; Paul, 1987). The good intentions of the Phambili school project were strained as a result of among other factors, leadership.

5.1.2 Sustainability: The Role of Finance/Foreign Aid in Development

Most community participation projects fail because they cannot financially sustain themselves (Turton, 1987). They continue to be dependent on the financial aid from non-governmental organizations (NGO's) maybe because of the assumption that capital background would make the people perform better. This type of modernistic top down development aid is impoverishing and immobilizing (Fair, 1982; Hoogvelt, 1982).

Instead of uplifting the poor, they are disempowered.

Phambili school was established and funded through funds received from the US AID and this occurred during a period of considerable socio-economic and political difficulty in the country especially with regards to the education for Blacks. While all these have made Phambili school more aid-worthy, alone they are an insufficient justification of the considerable amount of money invested and the number of students involved in this project.

Taking into consideration that Thembalihle school was established before Phambili school, one would have thought that with proper consultation, a search would have been made for a particularly needy project within the area into which aid could be directed. Thembalihle school would have been targeted for foreign aid especially because of its cost-effectiveness as a primary school in an informal settlement; an area which has yet to be harnessed in terms of development.

However, differing perceptions of South Africa's Black population needs are major influences upon project choice and hence project location, but still, these are not exclusive (Dewar *et al*, 1986). Attempts by both donors and charismatic leaders to make their administration simpler may influence project location. Central Durban as an ideal location for Phambili school might have been influenced by the turbulent situations in the townships at the time of its establishment.

Maybe the influencing factor was for the initiators to look for a harmonious place where schooling would continue uninterrupted. The focus at that time was on the crisis and quick solution rather than on community involvement which would have been better facilitated if the school was situated near the community from which the majority of pupils were drawn. Events that occurred at Phambili school in 1987, demonstrated that it is not absolute space that matters, but that space is a social construct.

The school's establishment and location soon became a matter of debate; ranging from alleged elitism to dissention from the progressive movements' call for sanctions. Donor requirements, and hence the sort of project it is best able to support, may direct aid into particular locations. The availability of projects seeking funding at a time when a donor is expanding its aid is often a deciding factor. The choice of specific locations for aid projects given the considerations outlined above is a difficult matter on which to generalise.

From a donor country's viewpoint, aid projects must be visible and the absence of other donors in the area is an important consideration (Wood, 1982). A related need is for projects to have a good access so that they are visible to the political elite (Wood, 1982). Perceptions among donor personnel and charismatic leaders of the suitable location for projects are also often influential and tend towards more accessible and better known areas.

As such, it is often the more developed areas within the least developed regions which benefit as it is in the case of Phambili school. The major beneficiaries are the 'privileged' urban population.

The limited local community participation in aid project formulation and monitoring in the case of Phambili school, opened up gaps for problems with progressive movements, ordinary people, teachers and pupils. Phambili school was subjected to considerable donor personnel influence in that when Prof. Fatima Meer withdrew from the project, US AID also withdrew their funding.

While the credibility of the US AID funding might have greatly affected the project leader's acceptance by the community, it was not as important as people's perception of where the project leader's loyalty lay. If it lay within the community, a major hurdle in building trust would have been overcome.

The emphasis of donors upon projects led by specific people in specific areas results in a very diverse and patchy pattern of development. Rather, projects which are community initiatives and more responsive to local needs, be identified for funding. The sudden withdrawal of US AID might have led to the closure of Phambili school, a situation which would have been detrimental to the pupils. A way ought to be sought, whereby the community should be able to sustain a project and maybe with governmental support or aid this might be possible.

Clearly, there is also a major need for increased community monitoring and direction of aid to ensure that its distribution and use is in accordance with both national and community priorities.

Coupled with funding from donors is the question of finance collected by the community itself. It is important that projects should be financially feasible at all stages of development. Operation and maintenance costs could place a greater financial burden on the community than the initial capital costs as have been demonstrated in both case studies.

Realistic operational figures ought to be projected to the community and in the case of education/schooling projects which are non-profit making, the community has to be advised in advance as to the costs of keeping the school running and maintaining teachers salaries. The financial contributions made by people at the grassroots in projects is important and instill, a sense of ownership and accountability to the developmental process (Mittelman, 1988).

Contextual understanding of the level of commitment needed ensures the question of what can and cannot be done in terms of available resources and societal limits (Cohen and Uphoff, 1980). While foreign funds are important as 'quickstarts' to development projects, the onus of project continuity and sustainability lies with the community's empowerment (Paul, 1987).

The contradiction about sustainability arises in an issue of public concern like education. Education is costly and the scarcity of funds available to maintain schools leave communities with no way but to opt for financial support from the government, an act which usually presupposes state control. Control of the schools by the state is a notion that is in direct opposition of people's education for peoples' power and one wonders how the financial issue may be solved (Soobrayan, 1989).

5.1.3 Decentralization : The Role of the Government/State in Community Participation.

The success of community participation depends primarily on a permissive attitude to such an approach by government authorities. Thus discussion of participation is discussion of politics and the exercise of power (Henderson, 1978; Thompson, 1981). Community participation is possible provided that the government supports the philosophy of people's participation, and provides the necessary support and environment therefore (Dewar et al, 1986; Mittelman, 1988).

Community participation and people's education demand policies that would genuinely link the government with the popular aspiration of the people (Soobrayan, 1989). Decentralization and collective co-operation in development between the state and the people is needed (Streeten, 1981).

The South African government has been calling for community participation in education but could not legitimism the type of participation in the two case studies (Phambili and Thembalihle schools). The state's administrative and political strategies are a constraint on the successful implementation of community participation.

A well administered and adequately funded programme of service provision was never a principal aim of either the government or the Phoenix settlement Board of Trustees. The manipulative and coercive nature of the state to control participatory efforts is seen in the closing down of Thembalihle school. To keep the lid on socio-political unrest in Bambayi and to limit the financial burden that goes with education provision, and land redistribution, the government provides a schooling alternate for the pupils.

However, it should be noted that land is a vital resource for community participation in local development as has been demonstrated in the Thembalihle school, which actually closed because of the 'landless' status of the community. Therefore, land reform through legislation is urgently needed in this country where land is not available to the masses.

5.1.4 Bottom-up Initiative : Participation is Rooted in People's Evolving Experiences

As Essman (1974) has pointed out, the 'romance of participation' leads people and administrators to expect that the process will be painless. To speak of participation without considering a fundamental shift in the nature of practice is quite meaningless. The implication of a participatory strategy is that it seeks to challenge existing development orthodoxies, as people become critically conscious of their situations, and will thus generate conflict (Lund, 1987). It should, however, be conflict geared to improve the relevance and the effectiveness of development.

The realisation by communities for a need to initiate an educational project suggests a dissatisfaction with the present system of provision/delivery. Already a conflict exists as the marginalised begin to take control of their lives (Dewar *et al*, 1986). An imposition of development projects and pre-packaged education policies on people assumes harmony of interests with a sense of evolutionary optimism (Mabogunje, 1980).

In community participation, as in Phambili school, it was inevitable that at some point conflict arising from a clash of interests and the nature of the participatory process itself would be confronted. However, conflict or confrontation does not mean that the purpose of mobilising people's participation is to unleash violence.

It means that confrontation entails conflict at the negotiating table aiming for the achievement of concrete results. In essence recent developments in all sectors in South Africa demonstrate that conflict/tension, linked to the historico-political processes which are responsible for the allocation of resources is the starting point of participation. Peoples education for peoples' power (Turton, 1987), legitimizes the conflicts in education, but also calls for a reclaiming of education control by the parents, pupils and teachers.

As usually happens in cases where people tackle problems in a manner in which it had been at Phambili school, such group action is criticized as being too extreme. However, in reality, it often takes action of that proportion to move the project leaders and at the same time consolidate the local organization and participation in an imaginative and lasting way.

The art of negotiation is to capitalise on the advantage gained, through a face-saving device or action which is concrete and mutually acceptable. As many members of the community as possible should be party to such negotiations in order to provide strength to the group on the one hand and prevent 'ego-tripping' on the other (Chambers, 1983; Paul, 1987).

5.1.5 Evaluation of Projects : A Characteristic of Process Orientated Democratic Approach

Evaluation should form an integral part of the total development project. People's participation in this context is viewed as an instrument of development and not as an end in itself.

The effective functioning of this instrument is itself a legitimize object of evaluation, in that it would encourage accountability, ensure continuity and sustainability (Paul, 1987).

Development concepts might appear difficult to assess, unless set out in quantifiable terms (Dewar et al,1986). Project targets might be based on input-output criteria, but might also specify tangible indicators of social change in areas such as leadership, community or grassroots participation in decision-making, and more emphasis might be placed on group achievement and on the individual's role therein (Lund, 1987).

In these two case studies, evaluation of the projects in their initial stages was never done and as such opened up areas of dissatisfaction and conflict especially in Phambili school. The community (parents, teachers, pupils) lacked a structure through which to channel their grievances, and resorted to popular protest so that even problems that could have been effortlessly resolved could not be tackled.

It is however, important to note that the evaluation process is costly in terms of time and staffing as outside evaluators are preferred, so as to give an 'objective' assessment of the projects. This is on the other hand an issue which should not be disregarded, rather be encouraged for the smooth running of the project.

5.1.6 Geographical Context : Specificity of Place

Community participation as seen in the two case studies manifests itself as being context-dependent or field-dependent (Ekanayake, 1990). The physical setting in which a project is located, the history of the place and the given socio-political systems which operate have a powerful and subtle effect on participation powers (Ekanayake, 1990).

An important theme of this study is to show that space does not merely reflect social organization, but that once space has been bound and shaped, it is no longer merely a neutral background: it exerts its own influence as experienced in the two case studies (Sayer, 1985).

The lack of basic needs such as water, land, finance, building structures and community authority structures, coupled with the structure of bureaucracies, persistent violence in the area, and the limits placed by policy-makers on the role of the community in education; constrained the abilities of the enthusiastic and committed communities to attain their objectives:

Physical conditions at Thembalihle school made it impossible for the school to continue. Both the school building and the surroundings were declared 'health hazards' by the health inspectors. At the YMCA, (Phambili) the school had to be closed because of unacceptable physical conditions and land tenure conditions left the Bambayi community under no alternative.

The community's failure to identify themselves with Phambili school was due to its location; far from the people it served. Distance defeats the proposed efforts of conscious collectiveness and action to develop (Pillay, 1990). From the two case studies it seems that the meanings or interests people invest in development seem to be directly related to those projects within their localities (McCarthy and Wellings, 1988). The community's definition of locality might not include Carlisle and Cross streets in Durban.

Such places may be mistakenly identified with the privileged classes hence the conflict with progressive movements and the community at large. The demand from the rest of the student population for pupils already registered at Phambili to return to their previous schools emphasizes the conflict. Indirect participation through representatives in Phambili school was inappropriate. This was related to a top-down initiative as it was started by well known academics and not the rank and file in the community.

5.2 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Below are recommendations for community participation in education in order to achieve an appropriate development process.

5.2.1 Time: An Important Factor in Community Participation



The two case studies confirm that development work, especially that of education takes time, and 'results' may not be seen for a considerable period; also if projects are to be flexible and responsive to changing community needs flexibility from sponsors, the state/policy-makers and the people themselves is needed.

In terms of the flexibility required by projects, the government needs to give meaning to its rhetoric community participation in decision-making by allowing greater decentralization of control and finance to projects and communities. The two case studies show that there are no 'blue-prints' - each school was unique, though there were of course similar environmental and structural constraints acting on them which are specific to the DFR, and the country as a whole.

5.2.2 Acknowledgement of Existing Structures/Initiatives

Development experts and education officials within bureaucracies should concentrate their attention on structures and processes that would enable and facilitate already established/existing community efforts. The SACBC (1989) put it rightly in that participation means reading the signs of the times and place, moving from stage to stage, listening to all people and responding to the needs of the moment. Through the two case studies, communication lines within violence-torn communities were established, and this would have furthermore added to the organization of the community.

The ability of the Bambayi community to create a 'spatially conscious strategy to derigidify' existing structures (Harvey, 1985) through the establishment of the school should have been further harnessed in a bid to bring about peace in an Inkatha/ANC divided place.

The different forms that community participation in education took in the two case studies, illustrate the importance of the context and the 'difference that space makes'. This confirms what has been mentioned in chapter 2 within a dependency perspective, that development should move away from 'blaming the victim' - away from the focus on changing the attitudes of people. In this way attention is deflected away from the environmental and structural features that impact on community participation and thus project performance.

5.2.3 The Need for Planning and Preparation

The two case studies reveal that the projects had not been well thought out in advance, and they had learned as they went along. On the one hand, this is to their credit, whilst on the other hand, it might be to their disadvantage. However, the need for some form of intervention is clear, and also, at the time these schools started, there were few local models to learn from.

Both projects were commendably open to adapting and reshaping their procedures in accordance with new experiences facing them. However, the learning process approach is not a substitute for the thorough groundwork that needs to be done if the approach is to be successful (Lund, 1987).

While the demand for education is certainly there, not many Black parents would be able or willing to bear responsibility for the establishment and maintenance costs of a school. Moreover, the financial costs incurred differ for primary and secondary schools.

An important factor emphasized by Thompson (1981) is that education, by itself, consumes more resources than it produces. .

The government's willingness to finance community initiated schools is crucial to the advancement of the projects however this should not be viewed as a condition for the government to control schools. This factor should be negotiated taking into consideration historical experiences and popular people's education guidelines.

5.2.4 Training and Education as Essentials in Participation



Development efforts bring not only new technologies, but also new ideas or models of social relationships and management skills. The two case studies demonstrate that far more time needs to be spent on on-going training and education. This is a problem which requires funds, time and the willingness of people to learn, and with projects usually in financial strains all the time (Phambili and Thembalihle) the fulfillment of this need becomes very difficult.

However, in the meantime, the formation and active involvement of committees to manage the schools (especially Phambili) as independent as possible from the donors/donor staff should be encouraged. This is a development which is essential for the schools to flourish, but one which demands diplomatic handling. Such committees have to be representative of the community as a whole and not just the parents of the current children whose interest may last for only three or five years, and to command the confidence and respects of donors.

5.2.5 Non-formal and Formal Education to Complement Each Other

Non-formal education as envisaged by the Phoenix settlement Trustees, covering the full range of extension education and community development, would make a direct and flexible contribution to development.

Its advantage is that it draws on all those in a community with suitable knowledge or skills (D'Aeth, 1975). It is not, however, an alternative to basic schooling as attempted by the Thembalihle school.

Non-formal education should be tied with formal and the already existing community organizational efforts demonstrated in the Thembalihle project would be used to improve the life of the community as a whole. A community centre with a multiplicity of functions, as proposed by the Phoenix settlement Board of Trustees in their construction plan would have been ideal in this regard.

5.2.6 The Community's Active Participation as a Process

To be effective, participation should embody not just consultative involvement, usually four-times-a-year parents' meetings, but a real chance of the community to influence the direction of change. Both schools were interested in widening access to education from varying standpoints; Phambili school, centrally located in Durban, Thembalihle school, in a specific locality within a shack settlement. However, Phambili's location robs it of the important 'community' it so needs to survive, whilst Thembalihle school was closed down mainly because of lack of funds and the 'landless' nature of its community.

Furthermore, one of the major inhibiting factors is the lack of an understanding on the part of the community of the objectives and meanings of that particular change.

Even so, community involvement can really occur only if the school is or at least near the community from which the majority of pupils are drawn. It would be important, therefore, to establish new schools in areas which are more easily accessible to the different communities they serve.

In addition, community participation is possible if the school also actively encourages such involvement.

5.3 **CONCLUDING REMARKS.**

Development work is assumed to occur in a stable, harmonious society and the role of participation is seen as adaptive and a vehicle for incremental reform ready for implementation (Mittelman, 1988). Dependency theorists rightly criticize this form of development, particularly in a society such as South Africa (Dewar *et al*, 1986). They point out that its principles can be manipulated and distorted, in the name of 'helping the poor help themselves'. In this manner community participation gets co-opted as a device to get the poor to pay for their own poverty, detracting attention from the need for a transformation of economic and political structures that produce and reproduce poverty (Lund, 1987).

While largely agreeing with and being informed by the dependency school, the debates and prescriptions for strategies of development arising from this perspective fall short in practice (Lund, 1987). Participation will not have much meaning if it cannot be ensured that the disadvantaged are empowered to participate in development. The implication here is not to totally abandon the existing patterns of intervention, but rather to search for more appropriate ways (policy planning, formulation and implementation) in which participation may contribute to successful intervention among the poor.

The context of participation focuses on the relationship between a development project's characteristics and the patterns of actual participation which emerge. This directs concern to historical, environmental, spatial and societal characteristics which frequently have a strong effect on emerging patterns of participation in a given development effort.

There is no magic list of critical factors in participation. Rather, the findings of this study reveal the general characteristics of community participation emerging from the case studies that can be applied everywhere. These are; empowerment, sustainability, people's active participation, the state's role, the socio-economic and political background of the community.

However, programmes and projects need to be particularly sensitive to the dimensions and contexts in which they are, their likely effects, and the two case studies discussed in the study demonstrate this issue. The participatory forms which emerged differed according to specificity of location, a factor which amongst other factors, became a key determinant of the schools'/communities' strength or weakpoint.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Chapters 2 and 3 reviewed literature on community participation and that of education with particular reference to people's education in South Africa. From the reviews there is a necessity to develop a theory which would recognize that community participation is an indication of how people respond to their needs as experienced and interpreted locally. Such a theory would help identify predisposing factors, such as socio-economic and political factors relevant to the establishment of community participation projects in schools.

However, a theory based only on the above would still provide too general an explanation to allow for an understanding of the variance and specific character of the recent community participation in education in the DFR. It was therefore necessary to make the theories spatially sensitive. This study is informed by Sayer's (1985) contention regarding the 'difference that space makes' and Massey's (1985) concept of 'space as a social construct'. Because of the local nature of community participation, the crucial role of space and locality was reviewed.

Although the two case studies are both in the DFR, they included widely differing forms of community participation - occurring in diverse spatial settings, one in a city centre, the other in an informal settlement (peri-urban). It was found that spatially specific practices and histories informed the form and content of community participation in the two spatial settings. The availability of foreign aid (financial assistance) and professional project leaders in the Phambili project contrasted with the lack of land-tenure, finance and not so well informed project leaders in the Thembalihle project.

Although both schools were established almost at the same time when violence was at its worst in Natal, especially in the DFR, the Thembalihle community took an apolitical approach to education, a factor that saw the school functioning without any major crisis; whilst the Phambili school although it was a refuge for displaced students, became a political victim as it was allegedly accused of receiving tainted money from US AID by both the progressive movement and the pupils it served.

The issue addressed here is why community participation is stronger in one locality than the other, and whether such spatial variation is explicable in general terms. Maybe the explanation lies in the question: "who instigates participation?" Does it come from the grassroots or from the national centre? Does it flow from the people themselves, from local leaders, from project staff, from national or from foreign personnel?

Basically, this particular characteristic focuses on the distinction between top-down and bottom-up initiative within community participation. Phambili school may be classified as a top-down initiative remotely placed from the people it intended to serve and thus people seemed not to own it; whilst Thembalihle school may be seen as a bottom-up initiative, placed within the people's living sphere and the people seemed to have full ownership. Phambili school may thus be seen as another type of a community development strategy and less of a community participatory approach.

Community participation evolves in a variety of ways. Its existence appears to relate both to characteristics of the project itself, the settlement or locality (history, security of tenure, socio-economic factors, class or ethnic composition, leadership) as well as to the attitude adopted by the authorities; such attitudes varying from one "supportive interest" to one "repressive hostility" (Nelson, 1979 p264). The form of land acquisition is likely to be a key determinant as in the Thembalihle school. Evidence suggests that community participation is not 'spontaneously' created by residents as an integral part of their daily lives or processes.

Rather it emerges either in exceptional circumstances or localities as in the Bambayi informal settlement, or where people actually demand it.

Participation appears to vary not only by locality and tenure, but also with the age of the settlement and the service sought. Recently formed settlements, or those with intractable services' provision problems, tend to have higher levels of participation, as in the case of Bambayi. What is clear from the case studies is that the demand for a service like education, attracts higher levels of participation (Dewar *et al.*, 1986). However, variations in the participation intensity of establishing the schools between the two localities within the DFR reflect differences in local conditions, which make us conclude that although there may be universal patterns of settlement needs, the type of participation therefore will follow specific patterns.

The total absence of services encourages participation as had been demonstrated in the Thembalihle school. Once people have achieved a minimum level of services, they concentrate on other issues, as was the case in Phambili school. Most of the pupils at Phambili were from the communities which had secondary/high schools, thus they could do without Phambili as they had other schools to fall back on. This does not mean that they are no longer interested in collaborative efforts to improve a service like education, only that they might have recognised the marginal returns such actions brought.

They might have reached an awareness that better services like education, were more dependent upon favourable government decisions than on community activity.

In the interest of efficiency, administration, the reinforcement of dominant structures, socio-historical forces and forces derived from the inner dynamics of the relationship between the government and the people; the emphasis on participation becomes unrealistic without changing or replacing the very foundations on which the concentration of power, wealth and privilege rests (Hartshorne, 1986).

While current ideas and practices relating to decentralisation and participation in education vary considerably from country to country, inter- and intra- regionally, they have one important characteristic in common: the emphasis is mainly on decentralised planning and decision-making as advocated by people's education.

Community participation in education may be viewed as difficult and highly complex. People in the educational field often view participation as a risky endeavour, or as useful only in times of crisis. However, whatever efforts are needed to maintain active participation, full community participation can serve to strengthen the role of the school and thus that of education.

An examination of the experiences of the two case studies suggests that properly conducted historical, political and socio-economic studies of such newly community established schools have a valuable part to play in the design of future educational policies. Failure to analyse the specific local roots of the problems instead, endorse oversimplistic interpretations of their origin, is unlikely to produce solutions which will meet the people's educational needs. In other words, there are locally rooted social processes capable of projecting the interests of locality members well beyond the political arena, and such processes should be identified (Pillay, 1990). Once such processes are identified, it becomes easy to understand community participation and also why certain places tend to be associated with specific types of popular mobilisation. This means giving more attention to the social histories of the areas concerned, and drawing attention to the spatial peculiarities of the cities, townships and 'squatter' settlements under apartheid spatial and social engineering.

Within 'squatter' settlements more research on the ways in which the experiences and perceptions of the residents of such areas influence collective behaviour, including provision of public services and violence, requires a major research effort. The degree of unity amongst oppressed groups in terms of collective behaviour clearly needs more critical evaluation.

In both case studies it is possible to identify conflict over land and control of land as major material and political issues informing both the delay in registration and the closure of Phambili and Thembalihle schools respectively. The growth of 'squatter settlements' especially in and around Durban presupposes competition for scarce resources and challenges to existing authority structures on ways of incorporating the squatter settlements in the already formed local city or township authorities.

Any effective solution to Black education will require a restructuring of both the national and local development strategies. It would be best if changes to both levels occurred simultaneously; however, this is unlikely. But even if the poor at grass-roots levels cannot negotiate reformed national development arrangements, they have it within their power to reconstitute their domestic/local priorities and situations.

Although localities play an important role in community participation, educational reform can no longer be effected through scattered initiatives. It should be clear, therefore, that the focus of this thesis on local and domestic strategies to the provision of education does not imply a disregard for the national impediments to the solution of the Black education crisis; and that such efforts should not be a substitute for rightful state provision of educational services that are affordable, accessible and appropriate.

It is also important to note that what may solve the crisis of provision may not solve the other educational problems, and may in the short run aggravate the crisis of quality.

The transformation process currently unfolding in South Africa warrants the value of community participation in all development sectors especially to Blacks who have been differentially constrained by past discrimination.

For effective development to occur, participation should be accompanied by measures aimed at empowering people to put these new rights to use. While the subject is not a new one, it is littered with fashionable phrases and slogans which may render participation as rhetoric. Its continued popularity may be attributed to its affective appeal, allowing people to jump onto the bandwagon without clarity. The study, through the two case studies, offers a brief critical reflection about the precise meaning of community participation, its theoretical consistency, spatial sensitivity and furthermore, assesses its practicality.

REFERENCES

- Ackoff, R.L. 1986: Management in Small Doses, Wiley, New York.
- Ardener, S. 1981: Ground rules and social maps for women: an introduction. In Ardener, S. (ed.) Women and Space, Croom Helm, London.
- Ardington, L. 1991: Education for all: spatial dimensions. Indicator South Africa, 8(2), 79-82.
- Arnstein, S.R. 1969: Ladder of citizen participation. Journal of American Institute of Planners, 3, 287-294.
- Beall, J., Grest, J.,
Hughes, H. and Mare, G.
1986: The Natal Option : Regional Distinctiveness within the National Reform process, Paper presented at the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa, University of Natal, 1-4 July, 1986.
- Bekker, S. 1992: Shelter from the storm: needs in a new world. Indicator South Africa, 9(2), 59-62.
- Booth, D. 1985: Marxism and development sociology: interpreting the impasse. World Development, 13, 761-787.
- Bham, H. 1983: Education and Development in the Transkei. unpublished MA thesis, University of Natal.
- Bot, M. 1991: The policy divide: NP and ANC debates. Indicator South Africa, 8(4), 57-60.

- Bot, M. 1990: The Blackboard Debate: Hurdles, options and opportunities in school integration, SAIRR, Johannesburg.
- Bot, M. 1989: Policy and parity in education. Indicator South Africa, 6(1), 88-92.
- Bot, M. 1984: School unrest 1984. Indicator South Africa, 2(3), 9-13.
- Browett, J.G. 1981: On the role of geography in development geography. Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 72, 155-161.
- Browett, J.G. 1980: Development and diffusionist paradigm. Progress in Human Geography, 4, 57-79.
- Burke, E.M. 1967: Citizen participation strategies. Journal of American Institute of Planners, 7, 216-294.
- Byerley, M.A. 1989: Mass Violence in Durban's Settlements in the 1980's, unpublished MA thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Cardoso, F.H. 1982: Dependency and development in Latin America. In Alavi, H.; Sitanin, T (eds.) Introduction to the Sociology of "Developing Societies", Monthly Press Review, London.
- Chambers, R. 1983: Rural Development: Putting the Last First, John Wiley and Sons, New York.
- Clark, A. 1980: Solomon's choice - ethical arguments for and against separate educational provision for different ethnic groups. In Morrow, W (ed.) The Proceedings of the Kenton Conference, 1980, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

- Cohen, J.M. and Uphoff, N.T. 1980: Participation's place in rural development: seeking clarity through specificity. World Development, 8, 213-235.
- Corbridge, S. 1989: Marxism, post-Marxism, and the geography of development. In Peet, R. and Thrift, N. (eds.) New Models in Geography, The Political Economy Perspective, Unwin and Hyman, London, 1, 224-254.
- Cox, J. and Cox, O. 1971: Consultancy Experience: The Role of the community in low cost housing in Jamaica, in Report of Workshop on Evaluating Community Participation in Urban Development Projects, 46-51.
- D'Aeth, R. 1975: Education and Development in the Third World, Gower, England.
- Davies, J. 1984: Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa. In Kallaway, P. (ed.) Apartheid and Education - The Education of Black South Africa, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- De Souza, A.R. and Porter, A.W. 1974: The Underdevelopment and Modernization of the Third World, Association of American Geographers, Washington DC.
- Dewar, D., Todes, A. and Watson, V. 1986: Regional Development and Settlement Policy: Premises and Prospects, Allen and Unwin, London.
- Dostal, E. 1988: Notebook on Educational Trends and Perspectives, Institute for future Research, University of Stellenbosch.

- Duminy, P.A. and Steyn, P. 1982: Teaching Science, Via Afrika, Pretoria.
- Durban City Engineers Department, 1990: Durban Metropolitan Transport Area Interim Plan 1989 - 1994, Durban Metropolitan Transport Advisory Board, Durban.
- Ekanayake, S.B. 1990: Rural pedagogy: a grassroots approach to rural development Prospects, XX (1), 115-127.
- ESCAP, 1977: Report of the Regional Workshop on Methods and Techniques of promoting people's participation in local development, 1-15, December 1977.
- Essman, M.J. 1974: Landlessness and Near-Landlessness in Developing Countries, Cornell University, New York.
- Ferge, Z. 1981: Final report of the seminar. In an IIEP seminar: Planning education for reducing inequalities, UNESCO Press, Paris.
- Frank, A.G. 1971: Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Penguin books, Harmondsworth.
- Friedmann, J. and Weaver, C. 1979: Territory and Function, Edward Arnold, London.
- Friedmann, J. 1973: Urbanisation, Planning and National Development, SAGE, Beverly Hills.
- Fair, T.J.D. 1982: South Africa : Spatial Framework for Development, Juta and Co., Johannesburg.

- Fair, T.J.D. 1981: Towards balanced spatial development in South Africa, Africa Institute, Pretoria.
- Forbes, D.K. 1984: The Geography of Underdevelopment, Croomhelm, London.
- Galanos, G.A. 1989: Environmentalism in Education - The Missing Link, unpublished MA thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Gerber, B.A. and Newman, S.P. 1980: Soweto's Children: The Development of Attitudes, Academic Press, London.
- Gow, D.D. and Vansant, J. 1983: Beyond the rhetoric of rural development participation: how can it be done? World Development, 11(5), 427-446.
- Grobbelaar, D. 1990: Education and Development in South Africa, unpublished Honours thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Harber, C. Meighan, R. and Roberts, B. (eds.) 1984: Preface in Alternative Educational Futures, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, London.
- Hartshorne, K. 1989: Morbid symptoms - African Matric Results 1987-1988. Indicator South Africa, 6(1/2), 81-87.
- Hartshorne, K. 1988: Three years of turmoil. Indicator South Africa, 5(2).
- Hartshorne, K. 1986: African matric results: the disintegration of urban education. Indicator South Africa, 4(2), 54-58.

- Hartshorne, K. 1981: The unfinished business: education for South Africa's black people. Optima, 30(1), 18-35.
- Harvey, D. 1985: The geopolitics of capitalism, in Gregory, D. and Urry, J. (eds.) Social Relations and Spatial Structures, Macmillan, London.
- Henderson, P. 1978: Community Work and the Local Authority: A case study of the Batley Community Development Project, Manchester Monographs, Manchester.
- Hlahla, M. 1990: The use pattern of urban open spaces: Case of a low-income residential area, unpublished MTRP thesis, University of Natal, Durban.
- Hoogvelt, A. 1982: The Third World in Global Development, Macmillan, London.
- Hughes, H. 1987: Violence in Inanda, August 1985, paper presented at History Workshop, University of the Witwatersrand, February 1978.
- Husen, T. 1981: Second thoughts on equality in education IIEP seminar: Planning education for reducing inequalities, UNESCO Press, Paris.
- Kallaway, P. 1984: An introduction to the study of education for blacks in South Africa. In Apartheid and Education - The Education of Black South Africans, Raven Press, Johannesburg.
- Kemp, D. 1989: Equalising services in a reunited region. Indicator South Africa, 6(1), 95-98.
- Kindervatter, S. 1979: Non-formal Education as an Empowering Process, Centre for International Education, University of Massachusetts.

- Knowles, M. 1980: The Modern Practice of Adult Education: from Pedagogy and Androgogy, Cambridge, New York.
- Krige, D.J. and
Fincham, R. 1991: Data for development: meeting basic needs. Indicator South Africa, 8(2) 65-66.
- Krige, D.J. 1989: Basic needs approach to development: The question of education for black people in Natal. Development Southern Africa, 6(2), 173-191.
- Lofthouse, S. 1991: Dying to learn, Talk, 33, 14-17.
- Lund, F.J. 1987: The Community-based approach to Development, thesis for Masters of Social Science, University of Natal, Durban.
- Lushakuzi, E.E. 1983: Education as a Tool for Total Human Liberation and Development, Education Project Unit, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Massey, D. 1985: New directions in space. In Gregory, D. and Urry, J. (eds.) Social Relations and Spatial Structures, Macmillan, London.
- Massey, D. 1984: Spatial Division of Labour: Social Structure and Geography of Production, Macmillan, London.
- Massey, D. 1978: Survey: regionalism - some current issues. Capital and Class, 6, 106-125.
- Mabogunje, A.L. 1980: The Development Process - A spatial Perspective, Hutchinson, London.

- McCarthy, J.J. and Wellings, P. 1988: The regional restructuring of politics in contemporary South Africa. Social Dynamics, 15(1), 75-93.
- Mittelman, J.H. 1988: Out from Underdevelopment: Prospects for the Third World, Macmillan, London.
- Mkhatshwa, S. 1985: Keynote address in Report on National Consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education, University of Witwatersrand, 28-29 December, 1985, Johannesburg.
- Morrow, W.E. 1990: Aims of education in South Africa, International Review of Education, 36(2), 171-181.
- Moulder, J. 1991: Facing the Educational Crisis: A Practical Approach, Heinemann, Johannesburg.
- Mshana, R. 1983: Ujamaa Through Cooperatives in Tanzania, Education Project Unit, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Nattrass, J. 1983: Poverty amidst plenty. Inaugural address delivered at the University of Natal, September 1983, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.
- Ndlalane, T. 1990: Community and territorial schools in KwaZulu, talk to the University of Natal Forum, 9 May 1990, Durban.

- Nelson, J.M. 1979: Access to Power: Politics and the Urban Poor in Developing Nations, Princeton University Press, New York.
- Noruwana, J. 1980: Through the key-hole - education in South Africa for the future. In Morrow, W. (ed.) The Proceedings of the Kenton Conference, 1980, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Novak, J.D. and
Gowin, D.B. 1989: Learning How to Learn, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Nzimande, B. 1990: Township Schooling: Education in the context of social devastation, talk to the University of Natal Forum, 9 May 1990, Durban.
- Orkin, M. 1993: Education in the context of (under) development. Journal of Education, 15 1-13.
- Paul, S. 1987: Community Participation in Development Projects: The World Bank Experience. World Bank Discussion Papers, 6.
- Phambili Report: January/March 1991
Phambili Report: January 1991
Phambili Application for
Financial Support: 1991
Phambili Report: 1987/1988
- Phoenix settlement
Trust Working Paper (Draft): 1990
- Pillay, U. 1990: The Regional Services Council Debacle in Durban 1984-1989, unpublished MA thesis, University of Natal, Durban.

- Reed, D. 1981: Education for Building a People's Movement, South End Press, Boston.
- Riddell, R. 1985: Regional Development Policy: The Struggle for Rural Progress in Low-income Nations, Gower, Aldershot - Hants.
- SACBC, 1989: Community Serving Humanity: Pastoral plan of the Catholic Church in Southern Africa, Pentecost, 1989.
- SACHED, 1986: The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa, Raven Press, Johannesburg.
- Sayer, A. 1985: The difference that space makes. In Gregory, D. and Urry, J. (eds.) Social Relations and Spatial Structures, Macmillan, London.
- Seers, D. 1981: Dependency Theory : A Critical Reassessment, Frances Pinter, London.
- Simkins, T. 1976: Non-Formal Education and Development, Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Sitas, A. 1986: Inanda, August 1985: where wealth and power and blood reign worshipped gods. South African Labour Bulletin, 11(4), 85-120.
- Soobrayan, B. 1989: People's Education for People's Power, Seminar Paper, Education Policy Unit, University of Natal, Durban.
- South Africa Today, 1987: May, 4(3), All issues.
- Streeten, P. 1981: First Things First: Meeting Basic Needs in the Developing Countries, Oxford University Press, New York.

- SYNCOM, 1986: Towards a community-based system of education. Privatisation Position paper No. 3, Fellside.
- The Developer, 1990: Focus feature on Education, July-September 1990.
- Thompson, A.R. 1981: Education and Development in Africa, Macmillan, London.
- Trotter, C. 1989: Estimating the costs of education. Indicator South Africa, 6(1).
- Turton, A. 1987: Production, Power and Participation in Rural Thailand, UNRISD, Switzerland.
- Urry, J. 1985: Social relations, space and time. In Gregory, D. and Urry, J. (eds.) Social Relations and Spatial Structures, Macmillan, London.
- Kooy, R.J.W. 1988: Prodder's Development Annual, Prodder, Pretoria.
- Ward, P.M. and
Gilbert, A.G. 1982: Comparative Government Experience: Who wants Participation? The Government or the community? Shortened version of paper presented to the UK Overseas Development Administration, October 1982.
- Wood, A.P. 1982: The role of foreign aid in Zambia's rural development programme. In Williams, G.J. and Wood, A.P. (eds.) Geographical Perspectives on Development in Southern Africa: papers from the Regional Conference of the Commonwealth Geographical Bureau, Lusaka, 1982; Commonwealth Geographical Bureau, Australia.
- W.U.S. Briefing, 1990: Schools and teachers under apartheid, World University Service, United Kingdom.

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Daily Despatch	Daily Newspaper	Port Elizabeth
Daily News	Daily Newspaper	Durban
City Press	Sunday Newspaper	Johannesburg
Financial Mail	Daily Newspaper	Johannesburg
Herald	Sunday Newspaper	Durban
Mercury	Daily Newspaper	Durban
New Nation	Weekly Newspaper	Johannesburg
Star	Daily Newspaper	Johannesburg
Sunday Times	Sunday Newspaper	Johannesburg
Sunday Tribune	Sunday Newspaper	Durban
Weekly Mail	Weekly Newspaper	Johannesburg

INTERVIEWS

a)	Phambili	Informant A	27 September 1990
		Informant B	27 September 1990
		Informant D	30 September 1990
		Informant E	14 February 1991
		Informant F	18 February 1991
		Informant 1	23 April 1990, 19 July 1990
b)	Thembalihle	Informant 2	23 April 1990
		Informant 3	23 April 1990, 30 July 1990
			3 September 1990, 9 October 1990
		Informant 4	23 April 1990, 30 July 1990
		Informant 7	23 April 1990, 13 May 1990, 30 July 1990
		Informant 8	28 July 1990
		Informant 10	12 August 1990
		Mrs J Mngadi	(Principal of Themabalihle)
			18 May 1990, 9 October 1990

OTHER PEOPLE WHO HAVE IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER HELPED WITH DATA:

Mr Kganye, DET official

Mr Richardt Steele, PST

Mr Mike Saneka, PST

Mrs Ellah Ramgobin

Dr Paulos Zulu

The Nurses at Gandhi Clinic

Informants C (Phambili), 5, 6 and 9 (Thembalihle) did not want their comments to be included in this study for fear of identification. They have therefore been omitted in the text.

OTHER SOURCES:

SABC Commentary

Director of Education 12 September 1990